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THE HASLEMERE HOARD

D. F. ALLEN

THROUGH the kindness of Messrs. Spink & Son Ltd., and in particular Mr. D. G. Liddell, I am able to publish a hoard of uninscribed Celtic staters, found in Britain, which has a number of exceptional features. As is all too frequent, especially where gold hoards are concerned, the information about the circumstances of the finding is defective. Mr. Liddell has been extremely helpful in trying to get at the facts. The hoard appears to have contained originally about 85 or 90 (or possibly even more) coins and it was found in or about 1944 on a farm about half-way between Guildford and Haslemere in Surrey. The coins have been through three intermediate hands and it seems very unlikely that more precise information will ever turn up. The most likely area is Farley Heath, where many Celtic coins of different types and origins have been found in the past. Representative coins are shown on Pl. I.

The coins came to the knowledge of Messrs. Spink & Son Ltd. piecemeal. Through them I have seen in all 75 coins, but something in the order of 10 or 15 more must have been found. Between 5 and 8 coins had passed through Messrs. Spink & Son's hands before it was realized that a hoard was involved and a further 3 have passed separately through the hands of Messrs. B. A. Seaby Ltd. Some 4 or 5 more appear to have been disposed of abroad. Because of the exceptional features of this hoard it is quite possible that some of these missing coins will ultimately be identifiable, but the gross total of the hoard remains an imprecise figure.

The main peculiarity of this hoard is that all the coins in it come from no more than six pairs of dies and there are no cross combinations. The following table will show the contents so far as they are known to me (I have little information about the coins sold abroad).

	Description ¹	Dies	Number
1	Gallo-Belgic E, Evans B8, Mack 27	Dies A	2 staters
2	" " "	Dies B	10 "
3	" " "	Dies C	13 "
4	Gallo-Belgic XC1, " " "	Dies D	7* "
5	British LA, Evans C5-7, Mack 135	Dies E	39† "
6	British L, new variety, not in Evans or Mack	Dies F	11 "
			+ 2 quarter-staters
Total			<u>84</u>

* This figure may originally have been 1 or more higher.

† This figure may originally have been 2, 3, or more higher.

The hoard thus consisted of some thirty-two coins which, so far as type is concerned, would normally be treated as Gallo-Belgic imports from the Continent and fifty-two or more coins of types which were certainly British. Of the continental types, Gallo-Belgic XC1 is scarcely known here at all, although analogous quarter-staters are sometimes found. Of the British types, one is a new variety altogether.

¹ The references to coin-types are based on my paper, 'The Origins of Coinage in Britain: a Re-appraisal', contained in S. S. Frere, *Problems of the Iron Age in Southern Britain* (1958), pp. 97-308 ('Origins'). 'Evans' refers to Sir John Evans, *Coins of the Ancient Britons*, 1864; *Supplement*, 1890. 'Mack' refers to Commander R. P. Mack, *The Coinage of Ancient Britain*, 1953.

Another peculiarity of the hoard is that all or almost all the coins are struck so as to leave, surrounding the reverse design, a flattened edge which has not been touched by the die. This is nearly as noticeable on the Gallo-Belgic as on the British coins. A number of the coins are double struck and there are other signs of carelessness in manufacture, but none shows any sign of wear.

One is left with the strong impression that the hoard, despite the variety of types it contains, is the work of a single smith or smithy and that the coins have never been scattered in circulation. I have been unable to trace coins from any of the same six pairs of dies elsewhere. This in itself is unusual in the case of a hoard of this size and with types for the most part so well known. It might suggest that we are dealing with a forger's hoard, but the weights and specific gravities of the coins do not bear this out, nor are any of the coins plated. What we have, apparently, is evidence that a Celtic smith was making coins in a variety of styles, each of the proper weight, but appropriate to more than one area, while the area where the coins were found was truly appropriate to none of them. There are many lessons to be drawn from this.

The coins of Gallo-Belgic E type, with plain obverse and neatly disjointed horse on the reverse, are normally found in relatively large numbers both in north-east France (where they were perhaps the currency of the Nervii) and in south-east Britain.¹ One has been found at Godalming, but Surrey find-spots are comparatively rare. It has long been suspected that they were struck on both sides of the Channel, but no sure criterion has been found to distinguish the Gallo-Belgic from the British examples. The present hoard strongly confirms that these suspicions were right, but it does not provide a clear basis for allocation. What I have called Die A is exceptional by any standards owing to the linear character of the design; Dies B and C probably lack the pseudo-legends of alternating crescents below the exergual line, which seems characteristic of the Gallo-Belgic E coins from Gaul. This may prove to be a British feature; on the other hand the absence could be no more than an incidental consequence of the strong curvature of the reverse dies.

One would ordinarily have expected the apparent traces of an underlying face to the right, worn almost smooth, on the obverse of Die C to be a mark of Gaulish origin, or at least of early date (since these uniface coins were preceded by others with a face of sorts on the obverse), but in the circumstances of this hoard there is no real reason to divide Dies A to C chronologically. The same underlying trace of a face occurs on other Gallo-Belgic E coins found in Britain, for instance, the example from Wingham, Kent, in the British Museum. Gallo-Belgic E coins are particularly common from Kent.²

The presence of coins of Gallo-Belgic XC1, Die D, comes as a surprise. For some reason these seven or eight coins only came to light after the rest of the hoard and five of them together, but I do not think there can be any reason to doubt that they formed part of it. The type, which differs mainly from Gallo-Belgic E by the presence of an S below the horse, is common in Gaul, but has only hitherto been recorded here at Selsey, Sussex.³ Properly the type should have a *v* on the obverse but no trace of this is visible on the six specimens from the hoard which I have seen. Very oddly, there has come to light simultaneously (via a Northampton collection) possible evidence of another, but unlocated, find in Britain containing this kind of stater, but the coins are not from the

¹ *Origins*, pp. 114, 162-8.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 163-4.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 113, 171.

same dies and indeed do show the \vee on the obverse.¹ I have no reason to doubt that they were imports.

The British LA coins, Die E, are nearly normal, but not quite. Although from the Whaddon Chase hoard, the principal source of coins of this type,² a large number of dies and die combinations is known, I can find none with identical features. For instance, the obverse die (not the coins) has in parts a double-struck appearance and the usual ornaments to the extreme left (holding the coin as if for a face looking right) are lacking from it. On the reverse the herring-bone pattern usually found below the exergual line is absent. The type belongs essentially north of the Thames, the only example from Surrey having been found at Limpsfield.

The new variety, Die F, employs on both sides many features from the Whaddon Chase patterns. The obverse has moved, in several respects, further away from the original face pattern, and the reverse is distinguished readily by a large wheel below the horse, which incidentally has a triple tail. So far it has no other home than this hoard.

Amongst the coins disposed of on the Continent were two quarter-staters. One of these came into the hands of Messrs. Spink & Son Ltd., who acquired it in Switzerland. It proved to be of exactly the same type as the new variety and actually from the same pair of dies. This is the first time proof has been obtained of what has often been suspected, that occasional quarter-staters were struck from stater dies. I believe the second specimen was also from the same dies as the first. Here is another novel feature of this hoard.

Thus, in some respects all the coins in the hoard are peculiar; and this must be put alongside the fact that the hoard has come from an area in which neither Gallo-Belgic E or British LA (not to mention the Gallo-Belgic XC1 or the new type) is to be expected. Hoards, as is well known, are not necessarily found where the coins actually circulated, but in this case one cannot escape the conclusion that someone was reproducing fairly precisely recognizable and localized coin-types, presumably for use outside their proper locality. This is not at all surprising, given that the whole of Celtic coinage is basically imitative; indeed the real surprise should be that Celtic coin types in general are so closely and identifiably regionalized.

I have already mentioned that, in view of some of the technical features, I believe all the coins probably to have been the product of one smith or smithy. Of their features the most notable is the constant presence of a flattened area of flan around the edge of the pattern on the reverse which has not been touched in the course of striking by the reverse die. The area is not smooth, as it would have been if it had been flattened as a result of wear or friction; nor is it caused by scratching the whole face of the reverse coin on a touch stone. This peculiarity is most noticeable on the British LA coins, but it is present also on the Gallo-Belgic E and XC1 coins. The phenomenon is clearly the result of some unusual characteristic of the dies and perhaps also of the flans.

To take the dies first, the obverse dies appear to be neither more nor less cup-shaped

¹ Information kindly supplied by Messrs. B. A. Seaby Ltd., who in 1961 acquired from the estate of the late Mr. Frederick Harris of Northampton the six staters mentioned below. They were not connected with the rest of his collection and must be presumed to have formed the whole or part of a hoard, about which no other details are recorded. The coins were as follows:

Gallo-Belgic E	4
Gallo-Belgic XC1	1
British BQ	1

One Gallo-Belgic E and the Gallo-Belgic X's are illustrated on pl. 32 and mentioned on p. 236 of Seaby's *Bulletin* for June 1961.

² *Origins*, pp. 184-5, 288.

than is normal in Celtic coins. The reverse dies are, however, of distinctly more convex or bulging shape than usual, so that only a small part of the design is actually impressed on the coin. It is mainly this which causes the reverse type to be surrounded with a flattened rim.

I suspect, too, that the flans are somewhat different from normal. They appear to have had a slanting or bevelled edge, as if they were cast in shallow moulds with sloping sides. As a result one face of the flans was narrower than the other. In a few cases there are traces of the point at which the gold entered the mould, or where the casting left

Flan before striking Flan after striking

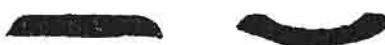


FIG. 1.

protuberances, which were subsequently broken or cut off. The obverse of the coins was generally struck on the broader side of the flan, which is bent into a gentle curve, while the curved reverse die is deeply sunk into the narrower side (see Fig. 1). One coin of Die A was originally struck one way up and then turned over, which accounts for the apparent traces of an undertype on the obverse. The coins show no signs of wear and the exceptionally sharp edge around the obverse, though it catches the eye less easily, is as marked and unusual as is the flat surround of the reverse. It is possible that these techniques, rather than style or weight, may eventually serve to distinguish at least some British from Gaulish made coins.

It is clear, I think, that the coins in the hoard never entered into circulation, but were buried, or at least preserved, precisely as they came from the smith. It is, of course, possible that they were not all made at the same time. This is perhaps to be deduced from the specific gravities of the coins, for which I am indebted to the London University Institute of Archaeology, but the impression is left that the interval may have been quite short.

Had the coins all been made at one time it might have been expected that the composition of each coin would have been the same, since the coins would have come from a single mix. In fact the specific gravity of the coins, even when all from the same dies, varies fairly widely. So too do the weights. It is, however, likely that the actual process of making the flans involved almost no two coins being identical in these metrological respects; this is a natural consequence of the technique of preparing individual flans in separate moulds from fragments of metal.¹ The table opposite, prepared from the staters in the hoard which I have seen, may help.

It will be noticed from this that the Gallo-Belgic E coins, Dies A-C, are a fraction heavier than the British LA, Dies E-F; on the other hand, the specific gravities of the latter are higher, implying that the gold content, or true worth of both, is just about the same. Similarly the Gallo-Belgic XC1 coins, Die D, are both lighter and of better

¹ A full account of this technique is to be found in my contribution to Mrs. E. M. Clifford, *Bagendon, a Belgic Oppidum*, 1961, app. vii, pp. 144-7; this is partly based on Dr. K. Castelin, 'Ke keltské mincovní technice', *Numismatické Listy*, xiii (1958), pp. 126-38; 'Keltische Münzformen aus Böhmen',

Germania, xxxviii (1960), pp. 32-42. Further research has since been carried out in connexion with the moulds found in 1961 at Old Sleaford, Lincolnshire, by Mr. R. F. Tylecote of King's College, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, which will shortly be published in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1962, pp. 101-9.

metal than the bulk of the Gallo-Belgic E. So far as desirability goes, therefore, there was nothing much to choose between any of the coins in the hoard.

<i>Group</i>	<i>Mean weight</i>	<i>Extremes</i>	<i>No. of examples</i>	<i>Mean S.G.</i>	<i>Extremes</i>
1 Dies A	5.95 (91.77)	5.79-6.10	2	11.55	11.51-11.58
2 Dies B	6.00 (92.58)	5.93-6.08	10	11.30	11.0-12.04
3 Dies C	6.03 (93.04)	5.94-6.19	13	11.13	10.9-11.4
4 Dies D	5.48 (84.56)	5.43-5.53	6	11.49	11.32-11.70
5 Dies E	5.86 (90.42)	5.74-6.08	33	11.38	10.9-12.75
6 Dies F	5.94 (91.61)	5.76-6.13	11	11.3	10.95-11.75
7 Whole hoard	5.89 (90.88)	5.43-6.19	75	11.34	10.9-12.75

TABLE OF MEAN WEIGHTS AND SPECIFIC GRAVITIES

(Weights in grams; figures in brackets in grains.)

If these weights and specific gravities are compared with those normal for Gallo-Belgic E and British LA coins,¹ it will at once be seen that although the weights are normal for both (some Gallo-Belgic E coins are a few grains higher, but there are as many found here at the lower weight level), the specific gravities are markedly lower than the average for the types. This is particularly so in the case of Gallo-Belgic E, where the right figure should be between 13.5 and 14.5. Even in the case of British LA 12.5-13.0 would be expected.

What we seem to have in this hoard, therefore, is the imitation of more than one contemporary coinage then in circulation at a fineness distinctly below that which the coins should have had; the imitation has fractionally but unmistakably debased the currency. This is what went on throughout the history of Celtic coinage, but we do not often find so splendid an example of the process actually at work. The hoard also illustrates the pitfalls into which the interpretation of imitative coins can fall, since, but for the technical peculiarities, one would with little hesitation have ascribed the coins to different areas of origin, and indeed to somewhat different dates. Gallo-Belgic E, as a type, undoubtedly preceded British LA, but it lasted a long time; this hoard is not the only context in which the two have been found in association. Perhaps the most interesting parallel to quote is the Birling, Eastbourne, hoard of plated forgeries which contained one each of Gallo-Belgic E and British MA, a type in many respects analogous to British LA though a little later.² It looks as if the Birling hoard again is the work of a single smith, this time actually indulging in forgery.

In all these circumstances one cannot pretend to locate precisely where or when the coins were made. Presumably they belong to the same period as the Whaddon Chase hoard itself, which Stevens has convincingly dated to 34 B.C., when Augustus contemplated invasion of the country.³ It could well be that an extraordinary mint was set up in the Haslemere area specially to create coins of two acceptable types in anticipation

¹ *Origins*, pp. 305-6.² *Ibid.*, p. 291.³ C. E. Stevens in W. F. Grimes, *Aspects of Archaeology* (1954), pp. 332-4; *Dio* xlix. 28, 2.

of the same emergency as that which led to the accumulation of the Whaddon Chase hoard. The Godalming area, in particular Farley Heath, the site of a Romano-Celtic temple, is a not unlikely site for a mint; but until coins actually from the same six pairs of dies turn up on other sites and in other contexts we shall have little means of taking these possibilities out of the realm of speculation.

LIST OF COIN WEIGHTS AND KEY TO PLATE I

(Weights in grams; 15.4323 grains = 1 gram)

STATERS

A. Plain



Dies A
Pl. I, 1-2

Wt. 6.10, 5.79.
S.G. 11.51, 11.58.

Total 2

B. Plain



Dies B
Pl. I, 3-7

Wt. 5.93, 5.93, 5.95, 5.96, 5.99, 6.02, 6.03, 6.05, 6.07, 6.08
S.G. 11.2, 11.2, 11.45, 11.26, 11.5, 12.04, 11.0, 11.21, 11.25, 10.85

Total 10

C



Dies C
Pl. I, 8-14

Wt. 5.94, 5.95, 5.96, 5.96, 5.99, 5.99, 6.00, 6.05, 6.09, 6.09, 6.09,
S.G. 11.4, 11.4, 11.25, 11.26, 11.1, 11.2, 11.1, 11.0, 10.9, 10.9, 11.1,
6.10, 6.19
11.1, 11.05

Total 13

D. Plain



Dies D
Pl. I, 15-18

Wt. 5.43, 5.44, 5.48, 5.48, 5.50, 5.53,
S.G. 11.55, 11.32, 11.41, 11.42, 11.70, 11.52

Total 6



<i>Dies E</i> Pl. I, 19-28	Wt. 5.74, 5.75, 5.77, 5.78, 5.82, 5.83, 5.83, 5.84, 5.84, 5.85, 5.85, S.G. 11.7, 12.75, 11.55, 11.35, 11.4, 11.2, 11.2, 11.4, 11.45, 10.95, 11.25, 5.85, 5.85, 5.86, 5.86, 5.86, 5.86, 5.86, 5.86, 5.87, 5.87, 11.5, 11.7, 11.3, 11.3, 11.3, 11.05, 11.5, 11.5, 11.5, 11.3, 11.3, 5.88, 5.90, 5.91, 5.93, 5.93, 59.5, 5.95, 5.98, 5.99, 6.00, 6.08 11.3, 11.35, 11.35, 11.4, 11.4, 11.25, 11.45, 11.3, 11.1, 10.90, 11.25
	Total 33



<i>Dies F</i> Pl. I, 29-35	Wt. 5.76, 5.83, 5.86, 5.90, 5.92, 5.96, 5.97, 5.98, 6.00, 6.02, 6.13 S.G. 11.75, 11.45, 11.3, 11.55, 11.60, 11.25, 11.5, 11.3, 11.3, 11.35, 10.95
	Total 11

QUARTER-STATERS

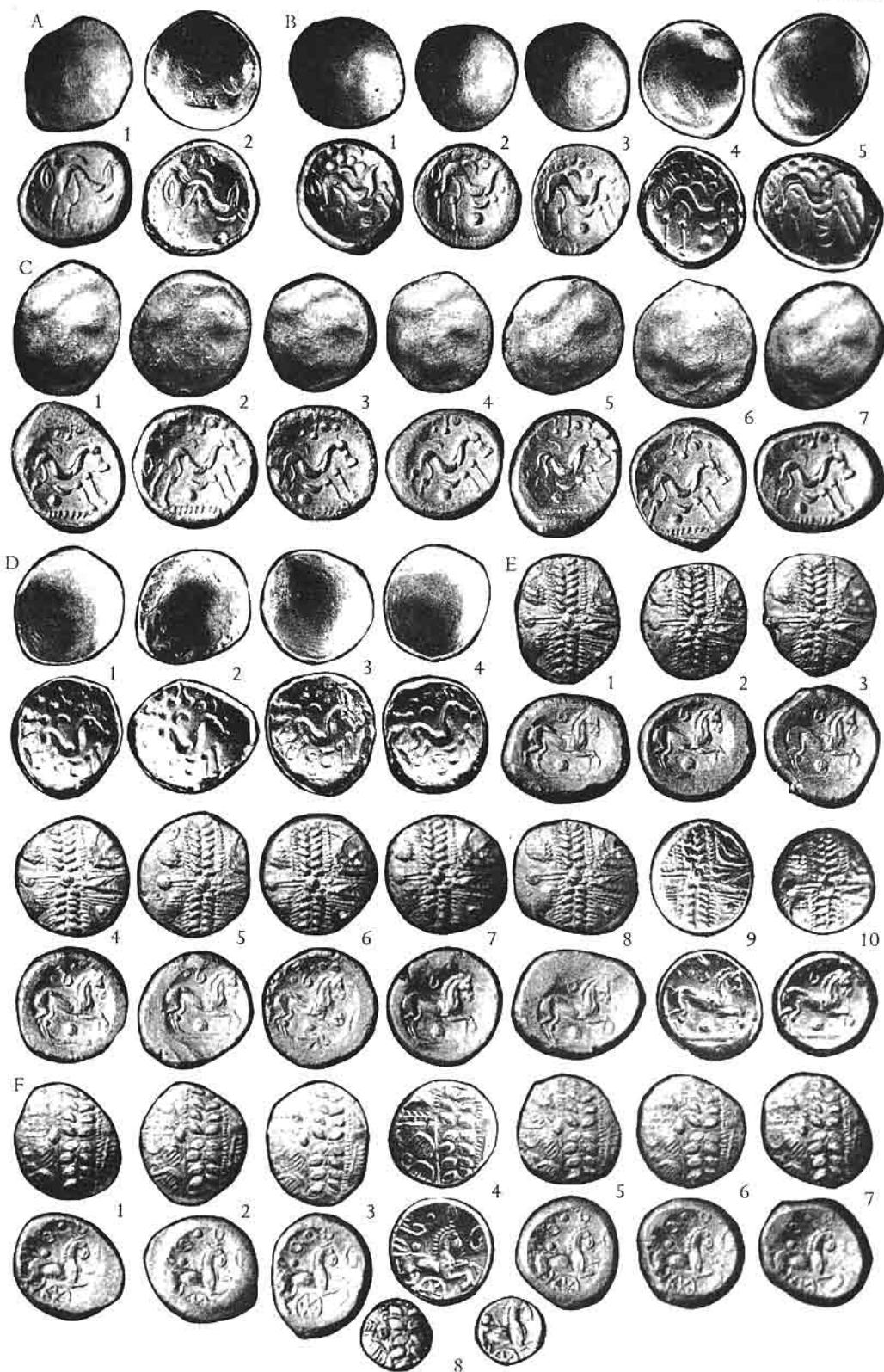
<i>Dies F</i> Pl. I, 36	Wt. 1.7 S.G. 11.33
	Total 1

The above are the staters and quarter-staters actually seen by me. They total 76 coins. In addition it is known that at least one more example of Dies D was found and at least 6 and probably a good many more of Dies E. A second quarter-stater of Dies F was also found. Consequently the grand total cannot have been less than 84 coins and may have been 90 or more.

The coins illustrated are indicated in bold type in the above list in the order in which they appear on the plate.

The blocks, so far as possible, record the whole pattern on each die, built up collectively from the specimens available.

Postscript. In June 1963 I learned that a further parcel from the hoard had turned up in the United States via Istanbul and was in course of sale through the dealers. The only coin I have seen was an excellent specimen from Dies F, showing more on the right-hand side of the reverse than any of the coins illustrated. I have no information of the further numbers involved but clearly the hoard was larger than originally thought. There may yet be more surprises in store.



THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE YORK 'THRYMSAS'

P. GRIERSON

IN his recent list of medieval coin finds from Scotland and the north of England, Dr. D. M. Metcalf¹ has queried the authenticity of a group of four early Anglo-Saxon gold coins, three of which are alleged to have been found at York—the find-spot of the fourth is unknown—and are generally supposed to have been minted in that city.² One specimen, whose metal is not stated but which Dr. Metcalf assumes to have been silver, was published by C. Hall in 1774;³ the remainder, of somewhat base gold, were brought to the attention of scholars between 1846 and 1850, all having an alleged York provenance. These three coins, which are now distributed between the British Museum, the Ashmolean, and the Yorkshire Museum, are from the same pair of dies. Hall's coin, the whereabouts of which is not now known, was from what was at least a very similar obverse die, but the reverse die was either a different one or Hall's plate has freely 'improved' the inscription, a jumbled collection of letters being translated into +EAD-BALD·R·C, so that the coin was assigned by him to King Eadbald of Kent (616–40).

Dr. Metcalf raises objections to both the York group and to Hall's coin. There are discrepancies in the accounts of the finding of the York coins. The specimen now in the Yorkshire Museum, which was formerly in the collection of a well-known local antiquary, Robert Cook, is said in one account to have been found on 20 November 1849 and in another to have been found in 1848, while that in the Ashmolean Museum, which is said to have been found with it, was known as early as March 1846, when a cast of it was exhibited at meetings of the British Archaeological Association and the Numismatic Society. Dr. Metcalf argues that if the coins are genuine they must almost certainly have been found together, and if they were found together Cook must either have been misled by the person from whom he obtained the coins as to the date of finding or have been giving a false account of the finding when he exhibited his coin in April 1850 at the Society of Antiquaries and stated that it had been found in the preceding November.

As for the coin published by Hall, Dr. Metcalf admits that if the 'York' coins could be shown to be genuine they would go far towards authenticating this specimen, but he points out that an inscription featuring the name of a king of Kent would render impossible the attribution to York and unlikely the discovery of the three specimens so far from their place of origin. A date as early as the reign of Eadbald would also raise difficulties regarding the Byzantine prototype, 'since the loros had not at that time appeared on the imperial coinage in its characteristic form'. His suggestion, briefly, is that Hall's coin may have been a forgery inspired by an interest in Eadbald and the 'York' coins forgeries based upon this, and no doubt under the influence of the publication of the Crondall hoard in 1844.

Most of these criticisms are based on what seems an excessive confidence in the reliability and veracity of coin owners and the accuracy of both engravings and the

¹ 'Some finds of medieval coins from Scotland and the north of England', *BNJ* xxx (1961), pp. 102–3, with full references.

² C. H. V. Sutherland, *Anglo-Saxon Gold Coinage in the Light of the Crondall Hoard* (London, 1948), p. 94, nos. 75 a, b, c (pl. iv. 18–20); they are discussed

on pp. 50–51.

³ *Saxon coins of the Heptarchy* (London, 1774), pl. 1, no. 3, with attribution to King Eadbald of Kent. It is reproduced by J. Strutt, *The Chronicle of England* (London, 1779), vol. i, pl. xvii. 2.

minutes of learned societies. Dr. Sutherland dismissed the reverse of Hall's illustration as 'wholly fanciful', and was surely right in so doing: the engraver simply made an intelligible inscription out of a jumble of letters which in fact were meaningless. As for the discrepancies over the date, there are two factors to be taken into account. One is that Cook, like others who have acquired coins discovered in their neighbourhood, sometimes found it convenient to practise the quality known to theologians as 'economy', and the line between vagueness as to dates and places of discovery and more positive deception is not always easy to draw.¹ The second point is that we do not know what Mr. Cook said on 18 April 1850: we only know what is recorded in the minutes of the Society of Antiquaries,² and this is evidence at second-hand. Secretaries are not infallible, especially where dates and names are concerned, and since Cook was exhibiting three groups of objects—the Anglo-Saxon gold coin (said to have been found in the previous November), two coins of Allectus (date of finding unspecified), and a Roman steelyard (said to have been found in April 1846)—the possibilities of confusion were considerable. The history of another of Cook's coins shows how easily mistakes can arise, and how unreliable apparently precise statements can be. One of the more interesting pieces in his collection, when it was acquired by the Yorkshire Museum in 1919, is referred to in an addition to the manuscript catalogue of his Roman coins entitled 'Note on Coin of Allectus found in Tanner Row, April 18th, 1850'.³ This suggests to the reader that the coin was found on 18 April 1850, but was not so intended by its author: the date had nothing to do with the finding, but was that on which Cook exhibited the coin at the Society of Antiquaries.

Even if the minutes are correct, however, and the coins came to light separately, this would not be sufficient to condemn them as forgeries. Finding must not be confused with hiding. It would be perfectly possible for them to have made part of a single small deposit, been separated when the ground was disturbed—the construction of the railway at York was at that time bringing to light many Roman and post-Roman objects, including large numbers of coins—and found afterwards on different occasions at two or three years' interval.

Dr. Metcalf's final point about the Byzantine prototype would be valid if the design were based on a figure wearing a loros, but such a derivation, which was suggested by Dr. Kent,⁴ seems unlikely. The design of the York coins shows a rectangular grid pattern having above it an oval containing a cross on forked base—there is a vague likeness to a human face—and two crosses. This rectangular pattern has little resemblance to that of the loros, which at this period is invariably represented by a lozenge pattern⁵ and characterized by a pellet within each lozenge, the ultimate effect being quite different

¹ Mr. G. F. Willmot, Keeper of the Yorkshire Museum, informs me that Cook and his brother did undoubtedly indulge in 'economy': e.g. a coin would be described as 'found in the suburbs of York' when they knew the exact find-spot, York County Hospital. Mr. Willmot has also pointed out to me that the fact of no specimens of the 'thrymsas' having been offered to wealthy local collectors like Wellbeloved, Davies, or Hargrove at York, or Haigh at Leeds argues in favour of their being authentic.

² *Proc. Soc. Antiquaries*, ii (1849–53), p. 68.

³ *Annual Report of the Council of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society for 1920*, p. xvi.

⁴ J. P. C. Kent, 'From Roman Britain to Saxon England', in *Anglo-Saxon coins: Studies presented to F. M. Stenton*, ed. R. H. M. Dolley (London, 1961), p. 11 and pl. i. 15, 16. As he points out indeed, imitation of a solidus of Justinian II of 705/6—the coin he illustrates is actually not an imperial issue, but an Italian (probably Beneventan) imitation—would make the York coin impossibly late in date.

⁵ Or rather appears as such on the coins, since it is passing diagonally over the shoulders. The later type of loros hanging straight down from the shoulders, thus giving a square pattern on the coins, did not appear till the end of the ninth century.

from that of the blank squares of the York coins. Dr. Sutherland's suggestion that the design is based on that of a bronze coin of Justinian seems to me equally unlikely; though it would account for the oval and the position of the two crosses, the rectangular grid-work bears very little resemblance to the emperor's breastplate, on which the horizontal wavy lines are sometimes accompanied below by a series of vertical lines but the two do not cut across each other. It seems more probable that the pattern was copied from that of an ordinary late Roman bronze coin with camp-gate reverse and that the oval and the crosses above were no more than fanciful variations of the central star and side turrets which occur on the prototype. Mr. Dolley has pointed out to me that the reverse type of coins of Edward the Elder (899-925) based on the camp-gate design sometimes follows the original fairly closely and at others transforms it into a very different type of building.¹

Several positive reasons can be advanced in favour of the authenticity of the coins. One is their weights, respectively 17.5 gr. (BM), 19.1 gr. (Ashmolean), and 20.0 gr. (Yorkshire Museum). These approach very closely to the theoretical weight (20 gr.) of the gold coins of this period, a weight attained with extraordinary precision by the coins of the Crondall hoard. In view of the fact that little attention was paid to metrology in the mid-nineteenth century, it is unlikely that a forger of that period would have reproduced the weights of his coins so accurately. Another reason is their inscriptions: a forger would surely have copied those of the Hall engraving, thus greatly enhancing the interest of his products. A third is the fact that Hall's engraving gives the coins a broad flat border, like that found on Lombard tremisses; once again, a forger would have been tempted to copy this feature, which is certainly fanciful, but the York coins have the normal sharply cut edges of other Anglo-Saxon gold coins. Finally, the cross inside the oval has a forked base and the space between the two boundary lines of the oval is marked by hatching; a forger, even with the illustrations of the Crondall hoard before him, would scarcely have known that hatching and crosses with forked arms are features quite peculiar to early Anglo-Saxon coinage and almost never found on that of the Franks. Despite their strange design, therefore, I believe that we are justified in accepting the 'York' coins as authentic.

Whether they were actually struck at York is a matter for conjecture. If the four recorded specimens had been found separately in the city one might have been fairly confident that they were, but the find-spot of one is unknown and the others may have formed part of a single hoard, which could have been brought there by some traveller and proves nothing. In favour of a northern origin are the two facts that the coin does not resemble those of south-eastern England and has not been found in their company; in favour of York is the fact that this city was already an ecclesiastical centre and probably one of trade. As to the date, the size of the lettering on the reverse, its neat arrangement between two circles of pellets round a cross, and the signs of declining fineness in the metal of the coins all point to their being relatively late. We can probably assign them to c. 670-80, and assume that their minting was stimulated by the creation of a gold coinage in south-eastern England and came to an end almost immediately when this was abandoned in favour of one of silver.

¹ Cf. Lockett Sale, Part I (Glendining, 6 June 1955), no. 526 (now B.M.), which is very close to the original save in the suppression of the doorway and the substitution of a rosette for the star, and nos. 527 and 528, which depart from the prototype in a number of ways.

They all of course differ from the York coin in that the camp-gate has remained a building and not, as in so many other borrowings of the early Anglo-Saxon series, been transformed into something quite different.

ANGLO-SAXON COINS IN THE WESTMINSTER SCHOOL COLLECTION

H. E. PAGAN and N. G. RHODES

INTRODUCTION

THE Westminster School Coin Collection was formed in the early 1870's by the efforts of Dr. Charles Brodrick Scott (Headmaster 1855-83), who made large purchases from the British Museum and from Rollin and Feuardent, and also secured for the school extensive selections from the cabinets of Sir David Dundas and Mr. C. W. Williams-Wynn; it now comprises some 1,800 coins.

The English collection is dominated by a collection of later hammered and milled, particularly strong in Charles I, given by Mr. P. G. Waterfield in 1953, but there remain from Scott's time twenty-seven Anglo-Saxon of great interest, practically all deriving from two Irish finds, Delgany and Killyon Manor, the first deposited during the reign of Egbert and the second about 955. Seventeen are in fact from Delgany, nine are probably from Killyon Manor, and the remaining coin is the only survivor of a miscellaneous group acquired after 1876. A further eight Saxon formerly in the collection were unfortunately stolen from it about 1940, and have not been recovered.

Scott had close family connexions with Ireland, and was therefore able to obtain the greater part of these two notable finds within a short time of their discovery; it was through his agency that substantial parcels from them passed into the hands of Sir John Evans, who published the hoards in vols. ii (1882) and v (1885), third series, of the *Numismatic Chronicle*. These publications are, however, in many ways inadequate, and if the school's coins are to be protected for the future, it would seem necessary that Evans's descriptions should be both revised and enlarged. Moreover, there has recently been discovered some unpublished material in the archives of the National Museum of Ireland, which seems to indicate that the whole question of Delgany deserves a thorough reappraisal.

S. J. MARKS

DELGANY

The size of the Delgany hoard alone—it contained over 115 coins—makes it the chief basis for any analysis of the English coinage in the first thirty years of the ninth century. Its general character is clear and not affected by the additions that can be made to Evans's publication; it is overwhelmingly English in composition, containing not a single Carolingian denier and only one foreign coin. The greater part of the hoard comes from Kent. The discovery of such coins on the east coast of Ireland, a district well outside the effective circulation of the Anglo-Saxon penny at that date,¹ requires a good deal of explanation, and this Evans was not unwilling to provide. He evolved the theory

¹ Cf. *BNJ* xxvii, iii (1957), pp. 459-66.

that this was part of the loot carried off by the Viking raid on Sheppey of 832, and therefore suggested that the Viking invaders of England during this period operated from Irish and not from Scandinavian bases, an argument which he supported by the large number of Viking raids recorded on the south and west coasts. Apart from the probability that this is solely due to the strong West Saxon bias of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, two strong objections can be made on numismatic grounds: first, that practically no other hoards of this date have been found in Ireland,¹ and that Mullaboden, the most important of those which have been, contains only Carolingian coins, and, secondly, that the actual date of the Sheppey raid was 835 and not 832.² As will be seen from the content of the hoard, even a date of 832 is unlikely for the hoard's deposit.

It has also been suggested that the coins formed part of an English offering to some Irish shrine, and that they miscarried on their journey. To this there is no *prima facie* objection, but no similar offering has yet been discovered, and until this is done it would be rash to maintain that the English made a habit of paying such reverence to the Irish saints.

However, three documents in the National Museum of Ireland appear to indicate that explanation is unnecessary and that the depositor of this hoard was neither an Irish nor a Scandinavian Viking, but a nineteenth-century imitator of them. The story of the discovery given by Evans is that a workman, while repairing a road just outside Delgany about the year 1874, turned over a stone and found beneath it, to quote Evans, 'a cake of coins massed together seemingly in one or two rouleaux'. Evans continues: 'Some of these were broken and others dispersed, but eventually a large proportion of them were brought together by the exertions of Miss Scott, to whom, and to her brother, the Rev. Dr. Scott, Head Master of Westminster School, I am much indebted, both for assistance in procuring the coins and for information as to the manner of their finding.'

This account was written in 1882, eight years after the find and at least six since a part of it had passed into Evans's collection, since he refers in it to the publication of a coin of Cuthred from the hoard in the second edition of Hawkins (1876). Its essential honesty is not in doubt; Evans would not have condoned a fraud, and his informants are clearly above suspicion. If the Delgany provenance is not correct, it can only be because they were given false information.

The first of the three documents does not conflict in any way with the published account; it is a letter of introduction addressed to Dr. W. Frazer, Director of the National Museum, and dated 21 July 1874, which runs as follows:

Dear Doctor,

The bearer Mr. Frank C. Burton of Delgany wishes to consult with you about a great find of Saxon coins found near his gate at Delgany—will you please see him and take him in your hands and put him right.

Yours ever,
E. Clibbon.³

The second is a memorandum by Dr. Frazer, undated, but meant to be taken in conjunction with the preceding letter.

¹ Mullaboden and Cushendall (which contained only two coins) are the only published hoards deposited in Ireland before the reign of Alfred. Single finds are equally rare.

² Dorothy Whitelock (ed.), *English Historical Documents*, i (1955), p. 172.

³ Secretary of the Royal Irish Academy.

These Saxon coins were said to be got at Richview House, Delgany, on a hill about 8 inches below the surface when the hole was originally cut some 8 feet. Discovered by a child and arranged in rouleaux. Shown me by Capt Frank Burton, 1st Bengal Cavalry.

I could not arrive at the facts of this alleged find, but believe it was a skilful plant of some clever person. The collection was too good and too full of rarities to be a genuine affair.

W. Frazer

Not only does Frazer state that in his opinion the hoard was bogus, but he also gives an account of the discovery which, although more detailed, differs materially from that furnished by Evans. The hoard is discovered by a child, not a workman, and is not revealed by the casual lifting of a stone, but found eight inches down an eight-foot hole; this hole is on a hill in the grounds of a private house, and no mention is made of the road that figures in Evans's account. It might well be assumed that Captain Burton was not content to plant the hoard or have it planted, but, finding his first story disbelieved, became intentionally more vague to prevent it being checked.

An examination of these documents reveals three points in particular which arouse suspicion: the fact that the descriptions of the find-spot differ, the fact that Dr. Frazer could not 'arrive at the facts of the find', and the fact that Frazer suspected it on purely numismatic grounds. There would seem to exist a powerful case for rejecting the hoard, even if it were not completely out of place in the pattern of contemporary hoard-distribution.

Yet the possibility that the coins were assembled from various sources with the intent to deceive can be ruled out, because the coins which claim to come from Delgany are noticeably consistent in date and patina. It certainly is a hoard, and the only explanation for its presence in Ireland, if it was not found there, is that transportation to Ireland would evade English treasure-trove restrictions, which hardly seems probable in view of the apparent purposelessness with which the coins were dispersed.

It would be more reasonable to explain the discrepancies by the fact that the find was accompanied by the confusion characteristic of Ireland in the nineteenth century, and this view is partially borne out by the third document. It is a letter dated 10 November 1874 and headed 'Meteorological Office, 116 Victoria Street, London S.W.' The writer is Dr. Scott's younger brother, Robert (1833-1916), Secretary of the Meteorological Office and a Fellow of the Royal Society.

Dear Dr. Frazer,

I am very much interested about a find of coins wh. was made last summer near my brother's place at Delgany, and I should be very glad if you could give me any information about the matter.

Have you any idea how many coins were originally found? and whether or not any were disposed of in Dublin? Are there any still for sale? A Mr. Coffey brought some to the British Museum, saying he had bought them in Dublin. Do you know who or what he is? A Capt. Burton took some to Dublin and brought some back, but we do not know whether or not he brought back all that he took.

As I know you take an interest in such matters I venture to bother you with such a lot of questions, and I should further be very much obliged if, in case you saw any of the coins, you remember if there were any of special value among them. I have asked Aquilla Smith who tells me that he saw some of the coins at the B.M.¹ A friend of mine has got some more, and we want if possible to put all about the find on record.

My days for getting minerals are over, as the weather keeps one considerably engaged as you may well imagine.

I hope you will pardon this very troublesome letter

Yrs. very truly
Robert H. Scott

¹ The British Museum did not in fact acquire any coins from Mr. Coffey.

The important sentence here is that which mentions Captain Burton's visit to Dublin; it indicates that the whole hoard was not in his possession, and it also seems that Robert Scott's 'friend' (possibly his brother) did not deal with Burton. Burton did not in fact live at Richview House, which had belonged since at least 1860 to the Misses M. B. and E. Keoghoe.¹ Their tenant in 1874 was a certain Mr. John Buckley; if Mr. Buckley had found the coins, Dr. Frazer's inability to obtain full details could be explained by the fact that Burton himself had only a second-hand knowledge of the find. Neither his nor Scott's account need then have been an entirely accurate report.

Frazer's third point—that 'the collection was too good and too full of rarities to be a genuine affair'—is perhaps the easiest to dispose of. Before 1874 no major find of this period had been fully published, and Frazer was no doubt aware of the multiplicity of forgeries in this series; a hoard which doubled the number of known coins of Baldred, and revolutionized the study of Kentish issues in general, was hardly likely to be regarded very favourably, at least at first sight, by the authorities, and the reasons which Frazer gave bear out the view that he thought the coins were forgeries. He does not suggest that the place or date of deposit is unlikely, and he made no recorded protest when the hoard was eventually published.

It is true that Delgany is a most unlikely place for such a hoard to be found. But is the alternative preferable? Did someone convey the hoard over from England to avoid English treasure-trove restrictions and then dispose of it, not to any recognized collector but to Dr. Scott, his sister, and Captain Burton? Or did Captain Burton himself do this and then ask the National Museum for guidance about the hoard's disposal?

Nothing can be said for certain, but those who want to disbelieve the Delgany provenance must bear in mind that the evidence does not necessarily suggest a fraud, and that both accounts are agreed that the hoard was found at Delgany, that it was arranged in rouleaux, and that it was discovered in the course of excavations.

To turn to the coins themselves, both the date of deposit and the origin of the hoard stand in need of clarification. An interesting result of B. H. I. H. Stewart and C. S. S. Lyon's reassessment of the coinage of this period is that Delgany, which has long been regarded as 'the most essentially Kentish hoard of which we have any record' now takes a decidedly second place in 'Kentishness' to the relevant portion of the Middle Temple find, its proportion of Canterbury issues of Coenwulf to his other issues being much less overwhelming. Delgany, too, supplies over half of the pre-Wiglaf coins now attributed to the London mint; none were present in the Middle Temple, Blandford, or Sevington finds, and only one other has a recorded find-spot—a coin of Ceolwulf, moneyer Ælhus, found in Bedfordshire.² A hoard that contains more coins of the London mint than one actually found in London can hardly be described as entirely Kentish, and it would be fairer to call it a 'Thames Estuary' hoard.

The principal objection to saying that this is anything other than a Kentish hoard is that there are no coins of Athelstan of East Anglia present, the abundance of which in the Middle Temple find makes their absence here all the more striking; this is easily explained by the fact that the hoard was not deposited nearly as late as 835 (the corrected date for the sack of Sheppey). There are no coins of Archbishop Ceolnoth present, and the removal of the anonymous archiepiscopal coinage from the interregnum of 833 leaves

¹ Information kindly supplied by Mr. Etienne Rynne of the National Museum at Dublin. ² Lockett 381 ex Evans.

Egbert's 'Dorob C' monogram type as the latest represented;¹ this is a copious issue, and a hoard which contains only two examples of it and yet is otherwise so rich must have been deposited within a short time of its introduction, which the absence from this find of any coins issued by Wiglaf or Egbert at the London mint suggests was before 828. Nothing else in the hoard is at the moment dated after 826.

This argument is supported by the fact that one of the monogram coins in Delgany is of the moneyer Bosel (Pl. II. 17). Stylistically Bosel is considerably the inferior of Oba and Diormod, 'Dorob C' moneyers who also struck for Baldred, and he strikes late 'Dorob C' coins of a type otherwise struck only by Biornmod, a moneyer who continued into the reign of Æthelwulf; this coin (in the Westminster School collection) is presumably an early one, since its inner circles are plain and not beaded, and its lettering is still quite large, but if the monogram coinage began c. 830, it would still date nearer 835 than 830, and this is forbidden by the other coins in the hoard. To sum up. If the evidence of Delgany has any validity, the monogram coinage must be considered to have begun well before 830 as well as continuing down to 839; this would mean a date of deposit for Delgany c. 826-30, and probably before Wiglaf started to strike at London.

The hoard contained, as Evans himself admitted, a considerably larger number of coins than were published. A few of those he omitted can now be identified, and fortunately do not affect the essential outlines of the find. A note in the Montagu Sale Catalogue on a coin of Baldred (lot 293) indicates that the coin came from a Sotheby's sale (Roach Smith and others) of 3-4 July 1891, and that it had formed part of the Miss Scott collection and the Delgany find; there can be little doubt that not only this coin but all those in that portion of the sale (lots 272-9) were Miss Scott's. The first, a coin of Epaticcus, can be linked with another formerly in the Westminster School collection, to which it was presented in 1874; the next five lots are all of the Delgany period, and contain a coin of Cuthred, moneyer Eaba, with a description agreeing with that of a coin starred by Evans as not having been seen by him; a coin of Coenwulf, moneyer Lul, of a type exceptionally common in Delgany; the above-mentioned coin of Baldred; and two coins of Archbishop Wulfred. Lot 278 is composed of four coins probably from the Killyon Manor find, and lot 279 is almost certainly from Miss Scott's collection because it includes fragments of coins of Coenwulf.²

To these can be added a coin of Archbishop Æthelheard, now in the National Museum of Scotland, acquired by Lord Grantley in Dublin and said to be from Delgany, and another coin of Archbishop Wulfred, moneyer Sweferd, may also be included. This was sold in the Murdoch sale (lot 39) as from a 'Find in Ireland', and Mr. Dolley knows of no other find from which it could have come; Sweferd is a moneyer unrecorded by Ruding, and, although specimens occurred in the Cuff and Loscombe sales, his present comparative commonness dates only from after the discovery of Delgany, where at least four specimens were present. But, until the present whereabouts of this coin are discovered, its addition to Delgany can only remain a possibility.

These are not the only omissions; no less than six coins in the Westminster collection

¹ C. E. Blunt, 'The coinage of Ecgbeorht, King of Wessex, 802-839', *BNJ* xxviii. iii (1957), pp. 467-76.

² The remaining coins in the lot are a coin of Æthelred II, Second Hand type, and two of Edward

the Confessor, types unstated. All three are of the Ipswich mint, but not even the first can have come from the Ipswich (1863) find which was composed entirely of coins of the First Hand issue.

were left out by Evans, and others may well have been. Not even all the unstarred coins in Evans's list were in his own collection: the Ethelmod of Eadberht Praen has been shown to be the specimen sold at the Marsham sale of 1888;¹ an Ethelmod of Offa and an Oba of Baldred (although this Evans stars), which occur in the same sale, are almost certainly from Delgany, and a further six coins fit descriptions given by Evans of coins the later fate of which is unknown. Evans may not have published all Marsham's coins, but an obvious suspect, a London coin of Ceolwulf, moneyer Aelhun (BMA 103 ex Marsham 80), has a dark brown patina not typical of Delgany, and further speculation would be unwise.

LIST OF COINS FOUND AT DELGANY

In view of the fact that Evans's publication can only be available to a few, and that it is in any case incomplete, an attempt has been made in the following list to record the types, weights, and subsequent history (when known) of all coins present at Delgany. Coins have been arranged in mints according to B. H. I. H. Stewart and C. S. S. Lyon's classification; totals for the various mints are:

Canterbury	77 coins
Rochester	10 coins
London	12 coins
East Anglia	17 coins
Papal	1 coin

which make a total of 117 coins, with the addition of three fragments (Sotheby's 3.7.1891, lot 279).

Every important moneyer who struck for Coenwulf is represented, with the not immediately significant exception of Wihtred. Perhaps the most interesting feature is the presence of two coins of Eadberht Praen in a hoard deposited at least thirty years after his deposition, which would suggest that these coins were not quite as rare as the number of known specimens indicates.

The last column in the list contains the number of the coin in Evans's list; numbers asterisked refer to coins which Evans had not himself examined, although he is not altogether consistent about this.

KINGDOM OF KENT

EADBERTH PRAEN	Name in three lines	Babba	17·3 (chipped)	Bagnall ex Ryan 585 ex Grantley 879 ex Evans.	2
	Name in three lines	Ethelmod	18½ (chipped)	Blunt ex Lockett 325 ex Drabble 342 ex Bruun 36 ex Bascom 13 ex Astronomer 78 ex Montagu 285 ex Marsham 50.	1
CUTHRED	Cross and wedges	Sigeberht	21·5	BMA 160 ex Evans.	1
	Cross/cross moline	Sigeberht Eaba	21·2 20·2 (chipped)	Westminster School. (Pl. II. 2) Westminster School. (Pl. II. 1)	*3
	Cross/tribrach	Eaba		Sotheby's 3.7.1891, lot 273.	*4
	Tribrach/tribrach	Seberht	21·2	BMA 162 ex Evans.	2

¹ *BNJ* xxviii. ii (1956), pp. 243 ff.

BALDRID	'DRV R CITS'	Diormod	21·4	BMA 164 ex Evans.	1
	Cross/cross moline and pellets	Oba	19·3	?BMA 172 ex Evans ex Montagu 294 ex Marsham 55.	*4
	Cross/cross	Sigestef	20	Lockett 3549 ex Grantley 890 ex Evans.	5
		Swefherd	20·3	BMA 176 ex Evans.	6
			(slightly chipped)		
	Cross/cross and pall	Tidbearht	19·1	BMA 177 ex Evans.	7
(Rochester)			20·4	Westminster School. (Pl. II. 3)	—
	Cross moline	Dunun	19·6	BMA 166 ex Evans.	3
	Wedges from circle	Ethelmod	18·5	BMA 167 ex Evans ex Montagu 293 ex Sotheby's 3.7.1891, lot 274.	—
ANONYMOUS	'DOROBERNIA CIVITAS'	Oba	19·4	BMA 168 ex Evans.	2
		Sigestef	21·0	BMA 184 ex Evans.	1
			20·4	Westminster School. (Pl. II. 4)	—
		Swefherd	21·3	Lockett 2635 ex P. Carlyon-Britton 1619 ex Evans.	3
		Swefherd	—	—	4
		Werheard	21·0	BMA 187 ex Evans.	2
KINGDOM OF MERCIA					
OFFA	Name in three lines/	Wilhun	—		*1
	Name in two lines				
	Name in three lines/				
	Name in three lines	Ethelmod	19·1	? P. Carlyon-Britton 273 ex Murdoch 17 ex Montagu 208 ex Marsham 61.	2
COENWULF	Name in three lines/	Eama		Westminster School (missing).	*3
	Name in angles of cross				
COENWULF	M/tribrach	Diola	—		32
		Duda	21·0	BMA 99 ex Evans.	33
			(chipped)		
		Duda	—	—	34
		Ethelmod	—	—	35
		Ludaman	—	—	36
		Wend-wine	20·0	Grantley 852 ex Evans.	37
	Cross and wedges	Beornfrith	22·0	BMA 52 ex Evans.	11
		Eaba	—	Grantley 840 ex Evans.	8
		Eaba	21·0	Westminster School. (Pl. II. 9)	*41
COENWULF	As above, but crosses in legend	Oba	19·0	?BM ex Lockett 3582 ex Drabble 326 ex Evans.	10a
	Cross flory	Diormod	—	—	10b and c
		Tidbearht	20·5	Westminster School. (Pl. II. 10)	20a
		Tidbearht	—	Napier 6 ex Evans.	20b
		Tidbearht	—	—	20c and d
		Werheard	15·8	—	21
			(chipped)	BMA 88 ex Evans.	23
		Werheard	—	Mack.	24
	Cross moline	Diormod	20·4	Lockett 371 ex Evans.	13
		Oba	19·0	Agnew ex Grantley 841 ex Evans	14a
COENWULF		Oba	20·9	Bruun 24 ex P. Carlyon-Britton 879 ex Evans.	14b
	As above, but with crosses in legend	Oba	19·3	Grantley 844 ex Evans.	15a
		Oba	—	—	15b
		Oba	—	Westminster School (missing).	*40

	Cross of crescents	Dealla Tidbearht	19.8 (chipped)	?BM ex Lawrence (1950 3.3.23). BMA 83 ex Evans.	*38 18
	Cross crosslet	Dealla Dealla	20.0 21.0 (chipped)	Lockett 3580 ex Evans. Westminster School. (Pl. II. 8)	2a 2b
	As above, but with crosses in legend	Dealla Dealla	20.75 (chipped)	Rhodes ex Ryan 621 ex Evans. —	1a 1b
	Cross fourchée	Swefherd	18.5	BMA 80 ex Evans.	16
	A-type	Sigestef	20.2 (chipped)	BMA 79 ex Evans.	19
(Rochester)	Cross ending in crescents	Dunn Ealhstan	(fragment) 19.0	Blunt ex Lawrence. BMA 69 ex Evans.	*43 17
	Cross and wedges	Ealhstan	17.8	BM ex Lockett 372 ex Evans.	9
	Cross crosslet	Ealhstan	18.7	BMA 70 ex Evans.	7
(London)	Cross crosslet	Æl hun Æl hun Ceolheard	21.5 21.9 22.3	BMA 72 ex Evans. Westminster School. (Pl. II. 11) BM ex Lockett 367 ex Grantley 848 ex Evans.	6 *42 4a
		Ceolheard Ceolheard Ceolheard	21.8 20.1 —	Westminster School. (Pl. II. 13) BMA 53 ex Evans.	4b 5a 5b
	Cross and wedges	Ciolheard	21.8	Westminster School. (Pl. II. 12)	*39
	Cross moline	Ciolheard	18.5	BMA 55 ex Evans.	12
(East Anglia)	Quatrefoil	Lul	20.6	BMA 75 ex Evans.	25
		Lul	19.0	Lockett 2652 ex Evans.	26
		Lul	19.5	Grantley 845 ex Evans.	27
		Lul	22.0	Dresser ex Grantley 846 ex Evans.	28
		Lul	19.3	Grantley 847 ex Sotheby's 3.7.1891, lot 275.	—
	Cross crosslet	Hereberht	18.4	Lockett 3582 ex Evans.	3
	Star of pellets	Hereberht	19.9	BMA 73 ex Evans.	31
	Lozenge	Wodel	18.7	BMA 94 ex Evans.	29
	Beaded cross	Wodel	22.2	BMA 95 ex Evans.	30
CEOLWULF I	Cross crosslet/cross moline	Oba	21.5	Westminster School. (Pl. II. 14)	—
	Cross crosslet/cross crosslet	Sigestef	19.9	BMA 121 ex Evans.	9
	A-type	Sigestef	20.7	BMA 114 ex Evans.	3
(Rochester)	A-type	Ealhstan	20.4	Lockett 380 ex Grantley 857 ex Evans.	1a
		Ealhstan Eanwulf	18.0 (chipped)	— Blunt ex Ryan 634 ex Drabble 333 ex Evans.	1b 2
(London)	Cross crosslet	Ceolheard	19.3 (chipped)	Blunt ex Ryan 635 ex Grantley 855 ex Evans.	4
		Ciolbald	21.5	BMA 104 ex Evans.	5
		Ciolbald	21.9	Westminster School. (Pl. II. 15)	—
	orv/Four small crosses	Ceolheard	21.5	BMA 119 ex Evans.	8
(East Anglia)	Three-line type	Eadgar	20.4	Blunt ex Ryan 638 ex Grantley 859 ex Evans.	10
		Eadgar Hereberht	19.4 20.4	Lockett 385 ex Evans. Lockett 2661 ex H. C. Miller ex Evans.	11 6a
		Hereberht Wodel	19.4 20.7	— Drabble 334 ex Evans. Westminster School (Pl. II. 16)	6b 7 —

BEORNWULF (East Anglia)	Cross crosslet	Eadnoth Monna	(fragment) 18·9	Blunt ex Grantley 862 ex Evans. BMA 126 ex Evans.	1 2
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KINGDOM OF WESSEX

ECGBEORHT (Canterbury)	Cross pattée 'Dorob C'	Swefherd Bosel Diormod	(fragment) 21·8 —	BM ex Lawrence ex P. Carlyon-Britton 1634 ex Evans. Westminster School, (Pl. II. 17)	1 *3 2
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ARCHBISHOPRIC OF CANTERBURY

AETHILHEARD	EP/M	—	20·5	Edinburgh ex Grantley 893 ex Prof. D. O'Sullivan.	—
WULFRED	'Dorobernia' monogram	Saeberht Saeberht Saeberht	21·2 (broken) 22 $\frac{1}{2}$	Westminster School, (Pl. II. 6)	1a
		Sweferd Sweferd Sweferd Sweferd	18·4	Lockett 334 ex Evans. Grantley ex Sotheby's 3.7.1891, lot 276—but not in Grantley sale.	1b
		—	—	Westminster School, (Pl. II. 7) Sotheby's 3.7.1891, lot 277.	2a 2b
		—	—	Murdoch 39 (unless one of the above).	2c and d
ANONYMOUS	'Dorobernia Civitas'	Luning Luning Sweferd	19·3 (chipped) 20·8 (chipped) —	Bruun 44 ex Napier 16 ex Evans. Westminster School, (Pl. II. 5)	7 *8 5
		—	—	Fragment reading DOROBERNIA—untraced.	6

PAPAL

LEO III	Sambon, p. 122, no. 758, 1 (as Leo VIII)	—	BM ex Miss Scott.	1
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Collections, &c., referred to above

Agnew: T. S. Agnew, Esq.

Astronomer: (F. McLean). Sotheby 1906.

Bagnall: A. E. Bagnall, Esq.

Bascom: G. J. Bascom. Sotheby 1914.

BMA: Anglo-Saxon Acquisitions of the British Museum. *NC* 1922, pp. 214–44; *NC* 1923, pp. 243–59.

Blunt: C. E. Blunt, Esq.

Bruun: L. E. Bruun. Sotheby 1925.

Carlyon-Britton: P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton. Sotheby 1913, 1916, 1918.

Drabble: G. C. Drabble. Glendining 1939 and 1943.

Dresser: Mr. J. L. Dresser.

Edinburgh: National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, Edinburgh.

Evans: Sir John Evans.

Grantley: Lord Grantley. Glendining 1944.

Lawrence: the late Dr. L. A. Lawrence.

Lockett: R. C. Lockett. Glendining 1955, &c.

Mack: Commander R. P. Mack.

Marsham: Hon. R. Marsham. Sotheby 1888.

Montagu: H. Montagu. Sotheby 1895, 1896, 1897.

Murdoch: J. G. Murdoch. Sotheby 1903.
Napier: Prof. A. S. Napier. Sotheby 1916.
Rhodes: N. G. Rhodes, Esq.
Ryan: V. J. E. Ryan. Glendining 1952.

The seventeen coins from Delgany in the Westminster School collection represent a careful selection from the find by Dr. Scott, and are listed in Scott's manuscript catalogue with the coins from Killyon Manor under the heading 'from finds in Wicklow and Meath, 1875'; two others given at the same time were stolen from the collection about 1940, but their descriptions are recorded in Dr. Scott's catalogue and in a catalogue compiled by the Rev. R. S. Chalk in 1924. Six are unpublished by Evans, and among them one, a coin of Ceolwulf, moneyer Oba, presents a new type for the reign.

The coins listed below are illustrated on Pl. II and numbered 1-17.

KINGDOM OF KENT

1. + CV^{DR}REDREX Cross pattée within beaded circle.
+ EABA Cross moline dividing legend, voided in centre, with small cross within voiding.
Wt. 20.2 gr. (chipped). Die-axis → NC 1882. 3.

This coin is a die-duplicate of the only other known specimen, BMA 159.

2. + CV^{DR}REDREX CAN^T Bust r. dividing legend.
+ SIGEBERHTIMONETA Cross pommée over cross saltire.
Wt. 21.2 gr. Die-axis ↓ Unpublished.

This is an unrecorded, but not unexpected variety; although other coins of Sigeberht for Cuthred display a distinctive form of drapery like that on coins of Offa, and an undivided legend, his coins for Coenwulf are of precisely this type. No reverse die-identity has, however, been traced. The bust is most akin to Canterbury coins of the moneyer Duda.

3. + BELDREDREXCANT Cross pattée.
+ TIDBEARHT Cross pattée with one limb Y-shaped.
Wt. 20.4 gr. Die-axis ← Unpublished.

Tidbearht is a prolific Canterbury moneyer during this reign, and the type has been known since a specimen was found in Suffolk shortly before 1852.¹ Evans believed that the cross with Y-shaped limb represented the metropolitan pall of Canterbury.

4. + SIGESTEFMONETA Diademed head r.
. 'DOROB ERNIAC IVITAS'.
Wt. 21.1 gr. (chipped). Die axis → Unpublished.

A die-duplicate of Hunterian Sylloge no. 390, a coin overlooked in the first edition of Brooke, but illustrated in Ruding.

ARCHBISHOPRIC OF CANTERBURY

5. + LVNINGMONETA
. 'DOROB ERNIAC IVITAS'.
Wt. 20.8 gr. (chipped). Die-axis ↓ Probably NC 1882. 8.

The usual reverse type for Wulfred's 'Dorobernia Civitas' anonymous issue has ·+· instead of ·. above the legend, and the s of CIVITAS in a fourth line, but this is not the only exception to the rule. The two anonymous issues are clearly closely connected.

¹ NC xv, p. 103.

6. +VVLFREDA RCHIEPI Tonsured bust facing, three pellets each side.
 +SAEBERHTMONETA 'Dorobernia' monogram.
 Wt. 21.2 gr. (broken). Die-axis → NC 1882. 1.

The monogram type was the only type of Archbishop Wulfred present at Delgany. The two Westminster coins are of the ordinary variety with a large bust dividing the legend and obverse legend ARCHIEPI, but there was also present the smaller, neater variety with a pellet on either side of the bust and legend ARCHIEPISCOPI

7. +VVLFREDA RCHIEPI Tonsured bust facing, three pellets each side.
 +SVVEFHERDMONETA 'Dorobernia' monogram.
 Wt. 18.4 gr. Die-axis → NC 1882. 2.

KINGDOM OF MERCIA

8. +COENVVLFREXM Bare-headed bust r. within inner circle.
 +DEALLAMONETA Cross crosslet with pellets at angles.
 Wt. 21.0 gr. (slightly chipped). Die-axis ↑ NC 1882. 2.

Dealla is the only moneyer to strike this bust, but in all other ways he is impeccably 'Canterbury' in style. He is also practically the only moneyer of Coenwulf's who struck for Coenwulf alone.

9. +COENVVLFR EXM Diademed bust r. within inner circle.
 +EABAMONETA Cross pommée over cross saltire.
 Wt. 21.0 gr. Die-axis ↓ NC 1882. 41.

Eaba is a rare moneyer for this reign, striking only the 'tribrach' and 'cross and wedges' types. The big-nosed and large-eyed bust is very similar to that on such coins of Cuthred as Lockett 326; the closeness of the connexion is established by the fact that this coin is actually from an altered Cuthred die. The v under the o of COENVVLF and the T under the m are just visible on the photograph, while an examination of the coin itself reveals the c of CANT under the r of REX, and the x of REX under the f. of COENVVLF. The alteration must be ancient.

10. +COENVVLFREXM Diademed bust r. within inner circle.
 +TIDBEARTH MONETA 'Noughts and crosses' board.
 Wt. 20.5 gr. Die-axis ← NC 1882. 20.

11. +COENVVLFR EXM Bust r. with beaded hair within inner circle.
 +AE. L·HVN. Cross crosslet. No inner circle.
 Wt. 21.9 gr. Die-axis ↑ NC 1882. 42.

Three Coenwulf coins of the London mint are in the collection; this, the first, is the notorious 'Huntael' coin, the misreading of which by Scott led both Evans and Keary to include 'Huntael' in their list of moneyers. The small bust with beaded hair and perhaps a diadem, the straight nose, and the simple drapery differ greatly from Ælhun's other coins, but the fundamental London connexion is asserted by the great resemblance to coin (13) below, in lettering (e.g. the LF of COENVVLF) and in the reverse cross.

12. +COENVVLFR.E.X.M Diademed bust r. within inner circle.
 +C. IOL. HEARDMON Cross and wedges within inner circle.
 Wt. 21.8 gr. Die-axis ↓ NC 1882. 5.

The bust on this coin is directly copied from that on the portrait coinage of Cuthred (cf. above coin (2)), and its legend CIOLHEARD also suggests an early date, since the main

body of this moneyer's coins for Coenwulf and Ceolwulf read CEOLHEARD. The reverse type, too, is similar to that on coins of Cuthred.

13. + COENVVL REXM Diademed bust r.
 + CEOLHEARDM Cross crosslet.
 Wt. 21.8 gr. Die-axis ← NC 1882. 4.

Although basically similar to Lockett 367, also from Delgany, the prominence of the nose and the massive chin are far more similar to Lockett 370 (moneyer Æl hun); the nose is of exceptional length. The type is clearly not derived from any Canterbury prototype.

14. + CIOLVVLFREXM Cross crosslet
 + O B A divided by four limbs of cross moline springing from central circle, within which cross and pellets.
 Wt. 21.5 gr. Die-axis ← Unpublished.

A new type for Ceolwulf. The reverse is all but a die-duplicate of coins struck for Baldred by this moneyer, while the obverse is of a type so far known only for Sigestef, apparently Ceolwulf's only other Canterbury moneyer. This is also the only coin of Oba on which the legend reads CIOLVVLF as opposed to CEOLVVLF.

15. + CIOLVVLFREX Diademed bust with long hair r. within inner circle.
 CIOLBALD Cross crosslet within inner circle.
 Wt. 21.9 gr. Die-axis ↓ Unpublished.

From the same dies as BMA 104, also from Delgany. Another London coin.

16. + CEOLVVLF REXM Crude bust r. within inner circle.
 + POD DELMO NETA divided by two lines with hooked ends.
 Wt. 20.7 gr. Die-axis ← Unpublished.

The crudeness of the bust is no uncommon feature on coins struck in East Anglia, but this particular variety with an enormous eye and dotted hair seems new. The neatness of the reverse comes as a distinct surprise; Wod(d)el's reverses in general stand apart from the common run by their use of a more elegant initial cross and the full MONETA.

KINGDOM OF WESSEX

17. + ECGBEAR HTREX Bust r. within inner circle.
 + BOSELMONETV · · · 'Dorob C' monogram.
 Wt. 21.8. Die-axis → NC 1882. 3.

There are at least three groups of these 'monogram' coins: those with plain inner circles, those with beaded inner circles, and those with a new bust and smaller lettering as well as beaded inner circles. This is presumably a late coin of the first group.

Two coins from Delgany formerly in the collection are supposed to have been stolen from it during the school's wartime evacuation. The first is a coin of Offa, moneyer Eama, which must be that published by Evans as Offa no. 3; only one specimen is now known, but this apparently passed into the hands of its present owner before the supposed date of the Westminster theft. The second coin is of Coenwulf, moneyer Oba, of the cross moline type with crosses dividing the legend, and its fate is entirely uncertain (Evans no. 40—his description is obscure).

KILLYON MANOR

The coins in the Westminster School collection from the Killyon Manor find are now only nine in number, and are hardly as spectacular as those from Delgany. They do, however, include an Anlaf Guthfrithsson and specimens of two otherwise unrecorded varieties. Like the Delgany parcel, they are a fair cross-section of the hoard, and are in general of a high quality despite a slightly crinkled appearance.

In Dr. Scott's catalogue, the coins from Delgany and Killyon Manor are catalogued together and the entry is dated 1875, the year before the accepted date of the discovery of the Killyon hoard; but in the headmaster's report for that year mention is made of only one find of coins from Ireland, that at Delgany, and there is other evidence to suggest that Dr. Scott catalogued both finds at the same time towards the end of 1876, dating his entry 1875, the year in which the majority were obtained.

The hoard itself has already been published very fully by Sir John Evans (*N.C.* 3rd series, vol. v), and little fault can be found with his publication. But, as he himself admitted, he only published 85 out of the 88 coins originally found, and the three coins which he omitted have not up to now been identified. A clue to their identity is given by the lot of four coins of the period of the Killyon find which directly follows those of the Delgany period in the Sotheby's sale of 3-4 July 1891.

LOT 278. Edward the Elder (Rud. 16.7) *rev. VIHTMVND* well preserved but cracked

Ethelstan, legend of obverse ending *TO BR*, *rev. REGNALD MO EFORPIC* (York) (Rud. 18. 27)
fair condition but cracked

Eadmund (Rud. 18. 4) *rev. DORVLF MO* in good condition

Eadred (Rud. 19. 10) *rev. DVRMOD M*—fine

The lot was bought by the Cambridge dealer Sadd.

The first coin is almost certainly a coin published by Evans. The description accords with Eadweard 7 on his list, and he states that the moneyer Wihtmund was unknown before the find. Since Evans in his publication queries his own description of the reverse type, the coin cannot have been in the Evans collection; it seems more probable to assume that the coin described was Miss Scott's than to think that she had another specimen of the same type. The other three coins are likely to be the missing pieces from the find; all are duplicates or near-duplicates of coins published by Evans which are known to have been in Evans's own collection and have now passed to the British Museum (BMA 525, 541, and 558). It is conceivable that the York penny of Athelstan is one of the coins listed as Athelstan 4 and is not a duplicate of Athelstan 5; although Evans mentions two coins of the type of Athelstan 4 and says that they are both in the Westminster School collection, only one has ever been there, and Evans may be referring to the Miss Scott coin as well. The type, however, is not the same, as this coin has four pellets round the small cross on the reverse.

Apart from the Westminster School coins and these coins in the 1891 Sotheby's sale, the whole hoard seems to have passed into the possession of Sir John Evans, and later to have been split mainly between the British Museum and Major P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton. Isolated examples have since appeared in the Napier, Grantley, Ryan, and Lockett sales; there are also two Oxford pennies in the Ashmolean Museum.

The coins from the Killyon Manor find in the Westminster School Collection are the following. They are all illustrated on Pl. II. 18-26.

1. Edward the Elder. Wt. 22.1 gr. (chipped). Die-axis ↑
 +ÆADVVEARDREX Small cross.
 ∴ | ALHS | + + | TAN M | ∴

This coin is Eadweard 2, and is of 'Southern' style. The spelling of the moneyer's name is apparently new for this type, all other known examples reading EALHSTAN, but on coins of the 'Hand of Providence' type ALHSTAN is the only form found (cf. *B.M.C.* 106, a coin from a similar obverse die).

2. Athelstan. Wt. 24.2 gr. Die-axis ←
 +ÆDELSTAN REX Small cross.
 ∴ | ADEL. | + + | VLF MÖ | ∴

Athelstan 22 on Evans's list. The moneyer Athelwulf is known at Winchester, and this coin, being of 'Southern' style, may possibly have been struck there; the name, however, is a very common one, and Winchester can only be a suggestion.

3. Athelstan. Wt. 21.6 gr. Die-axis ↑
 +ÆDELSTAN REX Bust r.
 +EDELSIGE MONE— Small cross.

The moneyer, Ethelsige, is not published for coins of this type, except with the mint-signature DOR. Coins reading DOR are now attributed to Canterbury, but the small crown perched on the back of the head does not immediately suggest a Kentish origin for this coin.

Although no Ethelsige is included in Evans's list, Evans stars a coin reading ADELVLF MONETA as being in the Westminster School collection, and says that it is of similar type to coin (2) above. No such coin has ever been in the school collection, and it is also improbable that a coin of the two-line type should carry so long an inscription; Evans seems to have confused the two coins, possibly because of an inaccurate description given him by Dr. Scott (who read the reverse legend ADELSTAN MONETA), or possibly the confusion is only due to a misprint. In this case the Westminster coin would be Athelstan 23.

4. Athelstan. Wt. 25.3 gr. Die-axis →
 +ÆDEL'STAN REX TO BRIT Small cross.
 +REGNA'L'D MÖ EFORPIC Small cross.

This is one of the examples of Athelstan 4, although the obverse legend ends BRIT and not BR. Regnald is a very prolific York moneyer.

5. Athelstan. Wt. 24.2 gr. Die-axis ↓
 +ÆDELSTAN REX TO BR Rosette.
 +MÆLDOMEN MO LEGC Rosette.

Athelstan 11 in Evans's list. A typical 'North-Western' coin, this has the usual rosettes and the long centre-stroke to the M; it is struck on a surprisingly large flan.

6. Eadmund. Wt. 23.0 gr. Die-axis ↑
 +EADMUND REX E8 Small cross.
 ∴ | INGEL | + + | GAR MÖ | ∴

Listed as Eadmund 17. Ingelgar is a well-known York moneyer throughout this period; on this coin the E8 is supposed to indicate the York mint.

7. Eadred. Wt. 24.9 gr. Die-axis ↑
 + EADRED RAEX (retrograde) Small cross.
 ☰|EDM|++|EI MOT|☐

Eadred 6, although not starred in Evans's list. Mr. Dolley has suggested that the reverse legend is a corruption of GRIMES; Grim is a common moneyer in the Chester area, and the transition from G to E is not unexpected.

8. Eadred. Wt. 25.8 gr. Die-axis ↑
 EADRED REX Small cross.
 ☰|FROD-|○+○|RIC M-|☐

Eadred 9, again 'North-Western' in style.

9. Anlaf Guthfrithsson. Wt. 18.1 gr. Die-axis ←
 + ANLAF CVNVNCC Raven.
 + AÐELFERD MINRTI Small cross.

This coin does not appear in Dr. Scott's catalogue among the coins from Killyon Manor. There is, however, an Anlaf listed by Dr. Scott among certain Anglo-Saxon coins purchased from 'Messrs. Lincoln etc.' after 1876, and this reads MINETI, while the coin described here undoubtedly reads MINRTI, a spelling identical with that on the Anlaf listed by Sir John Evans (Anlaf 1). MINRTI is an extremely rare, if not unique, variety, there being no examples of it either at the British Museum or at Copenhagen, or indeed in any of the major collections dispersed this century, and the condition of the coin is very much the same as that of the Killyon coins. Evans in fact puts an asterisk by his description, indicating that the Killyon Anlaf is in the Westminster School collection. Thus there can be little doubt that this is the Killyon Anlaf, but there remains the question of the identity of the coin Scott listed. The most probable solution is either that Scott omitted it by mistake from his first list, and catalogued it afterwards, or that he reclaimed it from Sir John Evans at a later date; it is also possible that there was at one time a second Anlaf in the collection reading MINETI. If this was the case, it had disappeared before the compilation of the 1924 catalogue.

One other coin from Killyon Manor was formerly in the collection, but it has now unfortunately disappeared. Scott describes it as follows:

+ EADMVND REX Small cross.
 WILA FEMÓ in two lines. Rosette of pellets above and below: between lines three small crosses.

Wilafe is a recorded 'North-Western' moneyer.

Mr. R. H. M. Dolley has been in correspondence with Colonel A. T. S. Magan, C.M.G., of Killyon Manor and is informed that none of the coins from the hoard are preserved there but that the find-spot is known, a spot near the Holy Well in the woods by the front avenue and quite close to the house itself.

OTHER ANGLO-SAXON COINS

Among the coins listed by Scott as coming from 'finds in Wicklow and Meath', there is one blatant outsider. This is a coin of Burgred, moneyer Dudwine. Its date forbids its inclusion in Delgany, and there is strong ground for supposing that it was not found at Killyon Manor—Evans's publication is numerically precise, and it is also completely

uncharacteristic of tenth-century Irish finds that they should contain any pre-Alfred coins. No coin of Burgred has in fact been recorded from any Irish find, and, rather than postulate a single find near Delgany, it is more rational to assume that Dr. Scott acquired it thinking it was from Delgany, while it had really come from some English find. The problem is rendered insoluble by the fact that the Burgred had already disappeared by 1924.

At some later date Dr. Scott bought five coins from 'Messrs. Lincoln etc.'. Of these only one survives:

10. 'Cunnetti'. Wt. 21.3 gr. Die-axis ↑

CNVT REX ⋯ Inverted patriarchal cross with four dots between arms.

+ CYN ⋯ NET ⋯ TI ⋯ Small cross with pellet in each of two angles. (Pl. II. 27)

Almost certainly from the Cuerdale hoard. It is in superb condition, and appears to be from the same dies as Fitzwilliam Sylloge no. 487.

The four others have disappeared since 1924, but their descriptions have been recorded:

(i) ALFRED REX Bust r.

'Londonia' monogram.

Probably also from the Cuerdale find.

(ii) + CNVT REX ANG Bust l. with conical helmet.

+ GRIMOLD MO EOFRV Cross with annulets in quarters.

A *BMC* type XIV coin of York.

(iii) + EDPERD REX

+ GODPINE ON LÆPE Cross with trefoil ends.

Presumably a *BMC* type VII coin of Lewes.

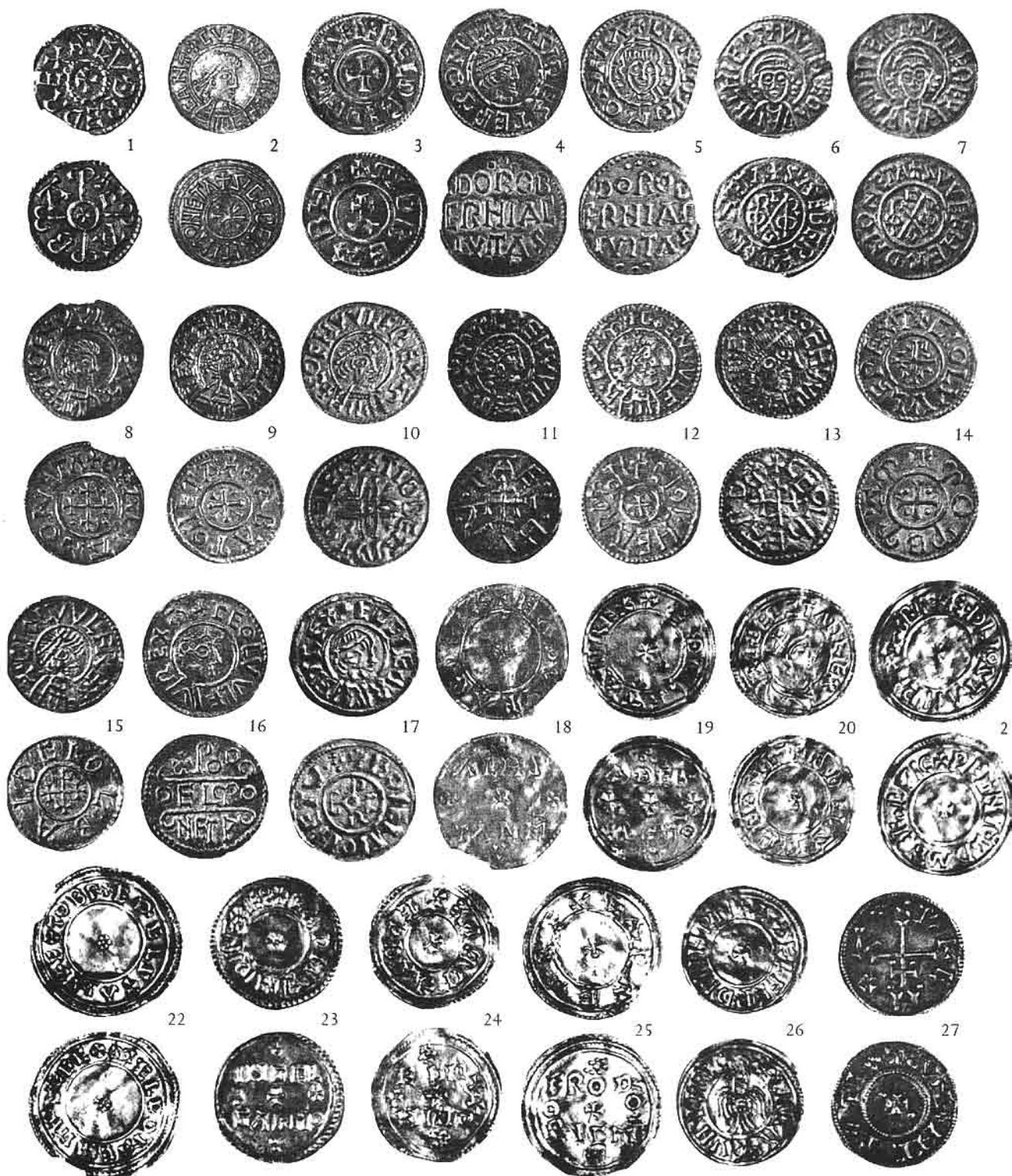
(iv) + EDPERD REX ANG Sovereign type.

+ OSPOLD ON LÆPE Short cross with martlets in quarters.

Also of Lewes. *BMC* type IX.

Our thanks are particularly due to Mr. Dolley, Mr. Blunt, and Mr. Lyon, who have given us much valuable advice and assistance; to Dr. W. O'Sullivan, for permission to publish three documents from the archives of the National Museum of Ireland; and to Mr. S. J. Marks, of Westminster School, who has contributed the introduction.

N. G. RHODES



MONETA AND MOT ON ANGLO-SAXON COINS

B. H. I. H. STEWART

THE occasional occurrence on Anglo-Saxon coins of moneymen's names in the Latin or English genitive case has, from time to time, evoked discussion both of these forms, which are rare, and of the significance of the word *Moneta*, which is very common.¹ The main purpose of this paper² is to re-examine the problem by comparing Anglo-Saxon coin inscriptions not only with each other but also with those of other periods and countries.

Unequivocal Latin genitives are found in the early ninth and mid-tenth centuries. *Heremodi*,³ *Sigeberhti*,⁴ and *Werheardi Moneta*⁵ occur on the closely related series of coins in the names of Cuthred of Kent and Coenwulf of Mercia. English genitives in -es occur in the reigns of Eadmund, Eadred, Eadwig, and Eadgar on the abundant non-portrait coins with the moneymen's name on the reverse in two or three lines, divided by crosses, rosettes, &c.⁶ and less frequently on those with a circular inscription surrounding a small central ornament, normally a cross.⁷

Roman coinage was originally struck in the temple of Juno *Moneta*,⁸ Mother of the Muses. From this association, the word *Moneta* acquired in classical times the meanings of 'mint', 'money', and 'die', and retained at least the last two in the Middle Ages. During the ninth century, and the tenth until the regular introduction of a mint-name necessitated a contraction of the inscription, *Moneta*, or a shorter form, is the almost invariable accompaniment to the moneymen's name on the reverse of English pennies. If, as is often implied by the best English numismatists,⁹ it stands as an abbreviation of *Monetarius*, there are a number of extraordinary phenomena to be explained. The full form *Moneta* is never followed by a mark of suspension or abbreviation, nor are longer

¹ C. F. Keary, 1893, in *Catalogue of English Coins in the British Museum, Anglo-Saxon Series* (ref. throughout as *BMC*), vol. ii, p. cv; A. Ancombe and W. J. Andrew in separate papers read to the British Numismatic Society in 1929 (23 Jan. and 27 Mar.), summarized by W. C. Wells in 'The Northampton and Southampton Mints', *BNJ* xxi (1931-3), pp. 23-28; H. Holst, '“Moneta” in Old English, Mót (Peningr) in Old Norwegian Coin-Inscriptions', in *Transactions of the International Numismatic Congress*, 1938, p. 315 (ref. Holst).

² I have had much valuable help in the preparation of this paper from Mr. P. Grierson with whom I have been making a general study of coin inscriptions in another context; from Professor Dorothy Whitelock and Dr. R. I. Page, who have commented respectively on Old English and Old Norse usage; and from Mr. C. E. Blunt and Mr. R. H. M. Dolley who have guided me in the numismatics of a period in which they are experts, and without whose encouragement and assistance the sections on tenth-century Mercian coins would have been much less accurate and less complete.

³ Cuthred, *BMC* 7.

⁴ Cuthred, *BMC* 8; Coenwulf, *BMC* 78 (*Seberhti*).

⁵ Cuthred, *BMC* 9, 10; Coenwulf, *BMC* 85, 86, 88.

⁶ Eadmund, *BMC* types i, ii, and iii; Eadred, types i and iv; Eadwig, types i and iii; Eadgar, type i a-g.

⁷ Eadmund, *BMC* type iv; Eadred, type iii; Eadwig, type v; Eadgar, types iii and iv.

⁸ *OCD* suggests that the name is connected 'with the root of *monere* ("mindful", "reminder") and hence is used occasionally ... to translate *Mnemosyne*. There is no indication, however, that any cult of a goddess so named, independent of Juno, ever existed.' Unless it could be proved that the title was used for Juno before her temple became the Roman mint, the possibility must exist that the word was connected with coining and transferred to Juno, rather than vice versa.

⁹ e.g. recently for the tenth century by R. H. M. Dolley, 'The Mint of Chester (Part 1)', *Chester Archaeological Society's Journal*, xlii, p. 9 (of offprint): '... the contraction for "monetarius" that follows the moneymen's name.' This is a fundamental paper for the period Edward the Elder to Eadgar, not only for the Chester mint (ref. hereafter, MC).

forms ever found although in plenty of issues there are moneyers' names of unequal length with the identical form *Moneta*. For example, on coins of Coenwulf, *Dun Moneta*¹ and *Tidbearht Moneta*² occur in circular inscriptions. Unless *Moneta* was a full and deliberate form, one would have expected, perhaps, *Dun Monetarius* or *Tidbearht Mon*; as it is, Dun's inscription is spread out to fill the space, whilst Tidbearht's is crowded, and makes use of ligature in both words to save space.

It is odd that he should not have used *Mon* or *Monet*, since these would be natural abbreviations. A form ending in a vowel, and thus in the middle of a syllable, might occur in a case such as *Mone* with N and E in monogram, but *Moneta* should, as an abbreviation of *Monetarius*, occur rarely, perhaps not more than once in ten or twenty times when the space available on the coin just suited it. Instead, it is not only preserved when die-cutting considerations would naturally favour a longer or shorter form, but one type at least—that with the cruciform reverse inscription introduced by Æthelwulf³—is designed specifically to accommodate this exact form. The moneyer's name followed by *Mo* is arranged in the form of a cross, with the last four letters, N, E, T, and A, in the angles. As Keary says, 'it is obvious that this word "Moneta" is no necessary contraction, the exact number of the letters in the inscription being carefully arranged beforehand.'⁴

There is, I believe, another reverse type, too, which was originally conceived on the basis of the word *Moneta* being a complete form. Coins by the moneyer Sigestef of Coenwulf⁵ and Ceolwulf⁶ have the inscription *Sigestef Monet* around a central A. Another group of coins of Ceolwulf, by the moneyers Ealhstan,⁷ Eanwulf,⁸ and Ethelmod⁹ have this A type, and whereas coins of other types by these moneyers have the full form *Moneta* in the circumscription, these have *Monet* only. That the A is intended to be read in continuation is rendered almost certain by a coin of Ceolwulf reading *Ealhstan Mone*¹⁰ with a monogram of TA as the central type and by coins of Ecgbeorht of the moneyer Redmudh which read *Redmudh Mone* with T and A in the centre,¹¹ or *Monet* with A alone.¹² A central A on other Anglo-Saxon coins, when a completion of *Monet* is not needed, may be explained in two ways. Either it stands as an initial (e.g. of *Anglorum*) or a symbol (e.g. Alpha, with or without Omega) in its own right, or else it may be uncomprehending imitation of the A on *Monet* coins.¹³ The practice of making a circumscription and a central epigraphic type continuous in sense is common on Anglo-Saxon, as on other medieval, coins. That a final letter should be accorded such prominence need not be considered improbable in view of the well-known north Italian coin, the *bolognino*; the central type, an A, was the last letter of the city's name, continuing the circumscription—*Bononi/A*, but the type was copied elsewhere, e.g. at Gubbio and Parma, whose coins of this type were consequently known as *bolognini*.

It will help to put the problem of *Moneta* in perspective if we consider the origins of coin inscriptions and some of their functions in the Middle Ages.¹⁴

¹ BMC 70.

² BMC 82.

¹¹ Fitzwilliam Sylloge, 524.

³ BMC type xvii; used also by Æthelbearht, BMC type i, and by Archbishop Ceolnoth, BMC i, pl. xii. 10 and pl. xiii. 2.

¹² C. E. Blunt, *The Coinage of Ecgbeorht, King of Wessex, 802-39*, BNJ xxviii (1958), p. 473.

⁴ BMC i, p. cv.

¹³ Perhaps even at the same time as the *Monet/A* Coins—e.g. Ceolwulf BMC 107, Eanwulf *Moneta* around an A and crescents.

⁵ BMC 79 and pl. viii. 13.

⁷ BMC 106.

¹⁴ There is a very good general survey in G. Macdonald, *The Evolution of Coinage* (Cambridge 1916), chap. 6.

⁶ BMA 79; Ryan 633.

⁸ BMA 110.

⁹ BMA 108.

¹⁰ Lockett 380.

Greek coin inscriptions often refer to the coin itself, or to the design on it. What is possibly the earliest known, *Φαννός εμὶ σημα*—‘I am the badge of Phannes’¹—is a striking example of the latter. On Cretan coins of the fifth century, *Γόρτυνος τὸ παῖμα*² and *Φαιστίων τὸ παῖμα*³ are generally understood⁴ as meaning ‘the thing struck’—that is to say, ‘the coin’—‘of Gortyn’ and ‘of the Phaestians’, and Phaestos provides an example too of a plain adjectival inscription⁵—*Παιστικόν*, ‘the Phaestian (coin)’. It could, however, equally be ‘the Phaestian (stamp)’, and another clear case, in the first century B.C., referring to the design is *Κότυνος χαράκτη(ρ)*, ‘the device of Cotys’.⁶ Late fifth-century Thracian pieces of Seuthes I proclaim themselves as *Σεύθα ἀργύριον* or *κόμμα*—‘Seuthes’ silver (coin)’ or ‘struck piece’.⁷

Such inscriptions are somewhat exceptional. On many Greek coins, however, there are implicit references to the coin or the type. Syracusan coins mostly read *Συρακοσίων*, ‘of the Syracusans’.⁸ What noun is understood is a matter of taste. Sometimes there is a strong suggestion in favour of reference to type: *Ἀκράγαντος*, ‘of Acragas’, beside the Eagle, which was the badge of the City, looks like a caption.⁹ But Macedonian coins have *Ἀλεξάνδρου*, not by the king’s head, but on the reverse, and this presumably means ‘Alexander’s (coin)’.¹⁰

Most of these usages are paralleled in the Middle Ages,¹¹ though Roman practice had a lasting and dominant influence. One remarkable case of the plain genitive, without a noun, is that of early pennies of Archbishop Wulfred of Canterbury which read *Wulfredi Archiepiscopi/Doroverniae Civitatis*.¹² Two series of coins struck in the English Danelaw in the ninth century, the Lincoln coins of St. Martin—*Sci Marti*—and the York coins of St. Peter—*Sci Petri Mo*—have inscriptions which can only be interpreted as *Sancti Martini*, or *Petri, Moneta*, that is, ‘the money of St. Martin’ or ‘of St. Peter’.¹³ Examples from the British Isles are, however, uncommon. But the word *Moneta* occurs on two Scottish issues. *Moneta Regis David Scottorum*, on some rare early half-pence and farthings of David II,¹⁴ and *Moneta Pauperum* on copper farthings of the fifteenth century.¹⁵

The latter is an interesting example of a coin being described in terms of its users—‘money of the poor’. The former follows a formula familiar on the Continent. The phrase *Moneta Nova* is regular on coins of the Low Countries and the Rhineland in the

¹ *Guide to the Principal Coins of the Greeks*, British Museum (London 1959), pl. i. 9; the obverse type is a stag, and on p. 3 it is suggested that the word ‘*φαένος*’ might be regarded as a genitive of a name for Artemis, to whom the stag was sacred, and the whole translated, ‘I am the sign of the Bright One’.

² B. V. Head, *Historia Numorum*, 3rd ed., Oxford, 1911, pp. 465–6 (ref. Head).

³ Head, p. 472.

⁴ C. T. Seltman, *Greek Coins*, 2nd ed., London, 1955, p. 169, and pl. xxxvi nos. 9 and 11 for illustrations of the coins (ref. Seltman).

⁵ Head, p. 473.

⁶ Head, p. 285.

⁷ Head, p. 282.

⁸ e.g. Seltman, pl. xliv, many examples.

⁹ e.g. Seltman, pl. viii. 12.

¹⁰ e.g. Seltman, pl. xlvi, many examples.

¹¹ A most instructive analysis of medieval coin inscriptions occurs in Engel and Serrure, *Traité de*

numismatique du moyen âge (3 vols., Paris 1891–1905), vol. i, pp. lv ff.

¹² e.g. BMA 196; Ryan Sale lot 595; BNJ xxvi, p. 343. Mr. Lyon gives me the following reference: ‘I presume, as it is put in the genitive case, *VVlfredi*, the word *moneta* or *nummus*, is understood’—Samuel Pegge, *An Assemblage of Coins Fabricated by the Authority of the Archbishops of Canterbury*, 1772, p. 6.

¹³ A third Danelaw Series, those of St. Eadmund, has no genitives, but some unequivocal vocatives: *See Eadmunde* occurs on some of the best dies (BMC 245–8, 318, 321, 328–9, 335–40, 599, 620), and though this form is scarce, *See Eadmund* and *Se Eadmunde* are common enough to ensure that the vocative is deliberate. They can only be read as an invocation, ‘o St. Eadmund the King’, the invocative *o* being omitted as in the Litany.

¹⁴ Stewart, *The Scottish Coinage*, London, 1955, pl. iii. 43.

¹⁵ Ibid., pl. vii. 100 and 101.

later fourteenth and in the fifteenth century, with the name either of a ruler or of a place. The epithet *nova* really had little meaning, not necessarily implying a new type or variety.

Coins of Lorraine in the fourteenth century give examples of the regular use of *Moneta* and a place-name (e.g. Nancy and Sierck) in the genitive or ablative, with or without a preposition—*Moneta de Nancei*, *Moneta F(a)c(t)a in Nancey* or *Nancei(o)*, *Moneta in Cier*, *Moneta Sierk*, &c.¹ An adjectival usage is also common—*Moneta Nova Leodiencis*, 'the new money of Liège', for John of Bavaria, 1389–1418, for instance.² The adjectival use,³ with *Moneta* understood, frequently occurs on continental imitations of Edwardian sterlings (e.g. *Melbodiensis*)⁴ though in the original series, from which they were derived, only on the earliest farthings, which read *Londoniensis*.⁵

A very few medieval coins refer to themselves more personally. The magnificent sovereign of Hans of Denmark, struck in 1496, announces, not without a touch of pride, that *Joh's Dei gra(cia) rex Danor(um) iussit me fieri an(no) 1496*, 'Hans, by the grace of God king of Denmark, ordered me to be made',⁶ a comparable inscription to that on the Alfred jewel.⁷ *Odulf me fecit*⁸ seems to represent the coin as an example of the moneyer's art. *Ici a munai*, 'here is money',⁹ *Denarius Aureliani* 'the penny of Aurelianum',¹⁰ and *Cruzatus Alfonsi Quinti Regi(s)*, 'The Cruzado of King Alfonso V',¹¹ are others.

These cases add weight to the view that *Moneta* generally means 'coin' and not 'die'. All the *Moneta nova* examples and sometimes the variant *Moneta facta*, would be hard to interpret as 'the new die . . .' and 'the die made . . .'; and *Moneta Duplex* means 'double coin' in the sense of a double denomination.¹²

Yet it seems as if there was some doubt on occasions as to whether the die or the coin was meant; the double meaning of *moneta* is an ambiguity of the sort which made *coin* mean a die in French and a piece of money in English. The Norwegians of the eleventh century also seem to have been particularly inexact in their distinctions, and their Runic coin-inscriptions throw interesting light on the meaning of legends containing a moneyer's name.¹³

The basic formula is: *Lofrikr á móti þetta*—'Lofrik has this die'.¹⁴ The *á* may be omitted—*Gunnarr móti þessi*—'Gunnar—these dies'; so may *þetta*—LEOFRICR MOT—'Leofric — die'. The moneyer Gunnar also has *Gunnars móti þessi*—'These (are) Gunnar's dies'; and this formula also is shortened: LEFRICS MOT—'(This is) Leofric's

¹ Catalogue de la Collection de Monnaies de feu Christian Jurgensen Thomsen (3 vols., Copenhagen 1873–6), i, pp. 289–90 (ref. Thomsen).

² Thomsen, 6279.

³ An adjective on the reverse may, however, be a continuation of an obverse inscription: e.g. *Iohannes Epc/Leodiencis* on a sterling of John d'Enghien, Bishop of Liège, of which the mint, Huy, is indicated by the letters *hov* in the angles of the cross (Thomsen 6272).

⁴ Maubeuge; Thomsen 3875.

⁵ Or *Londriensis*: H. B. Earle Fox and Shirley Fox, 'Numismatic History of the reigns of Edward I, II and III', *BNJ* vii (1911), pp. 101–4 and pl. 11, 12–14.

⁶ Engel and Serrure, iii, p. 1335.

⁷ Inscripted *Aelfred Mec Heht Gewyrcan*, 'Alfred ordered me to be made'.

⁸ Memorial coinage to St. Eadmund (E. Anglia,

and elsewhere?), *BMC* i, pp. 122, 471; also other moneyers in the same series, and Elda and Simun under Alfred.

⁹ Amiens, twelfth century, Engel and Serrure, p. lix.

¹⁰ i.e. of Orleans; on a Merovingian coin, A. de Belfort, *Description générale des Monnaies mérovingiennes* (5 vols., Paris 1892–5), no. 542.

¹¹ Thomsen, i, p. 238, no. 2880. Alfonso V of Portugal's cruzado was the first European coin made of gold from the New World.

¹² The French *double parisis* of the fourteenth century.

¹³ The examples quoted are taken from Holst, loc. cit.; Roman capitals as on the coins, italics represent runic inscriptions.

¹⁴ This is Holst's translation of *mót*; see below, p. 39.

die'. The Old Norse word *peningr*, which normally means 'money', 'coin', being the same root as the Germanic *pen(d)ing*, ancestor of our *penny*, is apparently found in the sense of a 'die' on the coins, as a synonym for *mót*: *Áskell á pening pen(na)*—'Askell has this die'. A contemporary Danish inscription in Runes, *Thordr á mi(k)*—'Thord has me' is of the same order.

This last example gives cause to wonder whether the *me fecit* inscriptions do not also refer to the die: after all, the moneyer's name by 900 almost certainly does not represent a man who actually made (= struck) the coin, though he may perhaps have cut the die.¹

What, then, of the ubiquitous *Moneta* on Anglo-Saxon pennies? The answer seems to emerge from the above examples, which show that medieval inscriptions quite frequently refer either to the coin itself or to the die(s), and that when a noun is present, it is *Moneta*. Quite possibly Anglo-Saxon die-cutters, like modern numismatists, at times tacitly assumed that this word, ceaselessly found with a moneyer's name, was in fact in apposition to that name, and stood for *Monetarius*, or even as it stood meant 'moneyer'.

But originally, if not always, it was understood as a noun, and the tenth-century examples with the genitive of the moneyer's name show that the true nature of the word had been rediscovered, if not remembered.

Anscombe,² though understanding *Moneta* to be a noun, thought that it was used in the sense of 'mint', was in the ablative case, and that *de* was omitted for reasons of space, so that, e.g. *Durandi Moneta* meant 'from Durand's mint'. On the grounds that there were three moneyers of Eadgar—Durand, Fastolf and Herolf—who used both *Moneta* with a Latin genitive,³ and a vernacular form, e.g. *Durandes Mot*, he thought *mot*, the English word for a meeting(-place), meant the place where moneyers and artificers met, i.e. the mint.

The objections to this theory are overwhelming. Why should *de* be consistently omitted? If the unlikely meaning of 'mint' is given to *moneta*, how can the place be described as the *moneyer's* mint? The Old English for 'meeting' is not *mot* but *gemot*,⁴ and the process of thought whereby *mot* is explained as a synonym of *Moneta* is wildly hypothetical.

Even Andrew, himself not unsusceptible to imaginative theories in fields such as philology where he was no expert, could not accept it. Yet his own solution was, if anything, even more fanciful.⁵ Reverting to the idea that *Moneta* was an abbreviation of *Monetarius* he explained the occasional genitives as being used to denote the use of a dead moneyer's die by an administrator. Andrew's contribution confused the issue, but he did make one useful point—that on York coins of Anlaf Guthfrithsson an inscription such as *Athelferd Minetr*⁶ contained a form of the English word for moneyer—

¹ In the Merovingian period, moneyers no doubt often cut their dies; in later periods, e.g. English coins from Offa onwards, individual die-cutting styles are associated with the names of several moneyers; possibly one cut his own, and others', dies or they may have been cut by a workman who was not a moneyer at all. The Northumbrian moneyer Leofthegn in the 840's is, perhaps, an example of a moneyer cutting his own dies. Some of his stycas are of distinctive style, and have many more varied and ambitious types than those of his colleagues.

² See *BNJ* xxi, p. 26.

³ Unfortunately, the so-called genitives are in fact

uninflected English roots followed by elaborate ornamental marks, in the form ! or similar, as indeed they are correctly printed in *BMC* (e.g. Eadgar, type III, nos. 174-5, 189).

⁴ The loss of *ge-* does not apparently occur before Middle English times; but in compounds, *mothus*, *motern*, it does occasionally occur without *ge-* (*motern* in the Lindisfarne Gospels, late tenth century).

⁵ See *BNJ* xxi, p. 27.

⁶ R. H. M. Dolley, 'The Post-Brunanburh Viking Coinage of York', *Nordisk Numismatisk Årsskrift*, 1957-8, pp. 13-88; see pp. 45 and 68, and fig. 1 (ref. *VCY*).

mynetere.¹ It is thus easier to believe that *moneta* may sometimes have been thought of, and accidentally perpetuated, as representing the word for moneyer; though Andrew was surely wrong to suppose that 'in early times Latin was usually contracted, and as *moneta* was the form which was adopted on our earliest standardized coinage, it remained the stereotyped form throughout'.

It is not necessary to look further than the lists of inscriptions on coins of Eadmund to Eadgar in the British Museum and the Chester hoard, in order to observe the close coincidence of English genitives and of the form *mot*. Sometimes the genitive is incorrectly formed—*-es* is tacked on to nominatives in the vowel *a*, e.g. *Boigaes* instead of *Boigan*; but it is, if not invariable, at least the regular form when *mot* occurs, and vice versa. Exceptions exist both ways, but they are unusual.

Table I plots the occurrence of genitive forms of moneyers' names in the English *-es*, and of the word *mot*. It also includes other coins in the names of any moneyer who qualifies for the list by *-es* or *mot* usage, so that it gives some idea of the exclusiveness of the usage by these moneyers. It is based on the material listed in the *British Museum Catalogue*, the *Sylloge* of the Fitzwilliam and the Hunter and Coats collections, and the reports of the Iona and Chester hoards.² I do not pretend that it is complete, nor do I think it needs to be to demonstrate the consistency of the *-es/mot* usage. Probably its omissions consist mostly of non-*-es* and non-*mot* coins by moneyers included in the list, which would slightly lower the proportion of consistent usage, though not materially.

The total number of coins in the table under each category are as follows:

(a) <i>mot</i> + <i>-es</i>	81
(b) <i>mot</i> + other forms	8
(c) Other forms + <i>-es</i>	18
(d) Neither <i>mot</i> nor <i>-es</i>	20
	<hr/>
	127

These figures do not overstate the case. The two irregular categories, *b* and *c*, might be reduced if, for example, *MT* was reckoned as *MOT* (which it almost certainly represents), or if *-a* (not *-an*) was counted as a genitive (two coins read *Maneca Mot*) which it could be in the North of England.³ A number of moneyers are only here recorded with *mot* and *-es*—notably *Æthelwulf*, *Regther*, and *Wulfgar* in three reigns each, and *Agtard* and

¹ A form of the English word is perhaps contained in the obverse inscription of the *aureus* by Offa's moneyer Pendred (exhibited and discussed by Mr. Blunt and Mr. Dolley, Royal Numismatic Society, 28 Mar. 1962), which reads PAENDRAED MV (or Y) NITA RE. If RE is part of the second word *Mynitare* could be a form of *mynetere*, the middle vowels being influenced by *Munitarius*, a common Merovingian form of the Latin *Monetarius*. However, if the second letter is v, not y, *Munita* could represent the word *Moneta*.

² Refs.: *BMC*; *C* = C. E. Blunt and R. H. M. Dolley, 'The Chester (1950) Hoard', *BNJ* xxviii, pp. 125–60; *I* = R. B. K. Stevenson, 'The Iona Hoard of Anglo-Saxon Coins', *NC*, 6th ser., vol. xi (1951),

pp. 68–90; *F* and *HC* = *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles* (Brit. Acad.), *Fitzwilliam Museum Cambridge, part 1* (1958) by P. Grierson, and *Hunterian and Coats Collections, University of Glasgow, part 1* (1961) by A. S. Robertson.

³ The southern boundary of the loss of *-n* in the weak genitive singular is not known. Dr. Page writes that it certainly extended as far south as south Yorks., perhaps farther, including, e.g. Cheshire. Coins of *Boia* (see below, pp. 34 and 41) suggest it may have reached Derby. Conversely Mr. Dolley warns that in some cases *-an* may not be a genitive, but can betray an Irish name, e.g. at York the moneyers *Beolan* (*Æthelred* II) and *Crucan* (*Cnut*).

TABLE I

*Usage of the English Genitive of Moneyers' Names and of the Form Mot on English Coins
of Eadmund to Eadgar with Horizontal Reverse Inscriptions*

Moneyer's name	MOT	Other forms	Eadmund		Eadred		Eadwig		Eadgar	
			Genitive -es	Other forms	Genitive -es	Other forms	Genitive -es	Other forms	Genitive -es	Other forms
Ælfred		MON			BMC 36	C 122	BMC 15		C 379	
Æthelwulf	x				C 129		C 308		C 383	
Agtard	x				C 131-4, I 67		F 599, C 309			
Amund	x		BMC 17							
"		MT	C 117							
"		MO	C 116							
Boiga	x				C 135-6			C 313-14		
"		MYNET					C 152 (-i)			
"		MONETA						BMC 18		
"		MON							C 386	
Demenec	x		MO		BMC 31					
					C 75					
					BMC 39, 40		BMC 26			
"		MON							C 322	
Dudeman		MO	BMC 41					F 600		
Dunn	x	MOV (?)			I 70, 70a					
					I 71					
Durand	x	MON	BMC 49				I 105-6			
"		MO					BMC 21			
Frethic	x				C 163-7					
					BMC 42, HC 651					
"		MO							C 399	
Godsere	x								BMC 141	
Grim	x									
					C 179, 181				C 398	
					BMC 49, HC 653					
"		MONE						F 601		
Inguc	x								C 402-4	
					BMC 62					
Maneca	x				I 72					
							BMC 66			
Mann	x						HC 655			
"		MONE	BMC 147		C 202, 246					
Osward	x	MON						C 346-7		
					C 245			BMC 31		
"		MON								
Othelric	x		C 100-1							
Paul		MO	I 22		C 210-3					
			BMC 119-20							
Redwine	x									
Regther	x		BMC 124		C 216-18					
					HC 656					
					BMC 75					
Rodbert	x				I 73, 74					
Sigar	x		BMC 128		C 223-4					
"		MO			BMC 78					
Sigwold	x		C 107							
Wulfgar	x	MON	C 113							
			BMC 139		I 77, 78					
					C 236-9, BMC 93					
							I 110			
								C 432		

Othelric¹ in two. Some moneyers invariably have *-es*, but not always *mot*: Frethic, otherwise consistent with *mot* + *-es*, has *mo* once, and Amund has *mo* and *mt*, though either of these could stand for *mot*. A certain exception is *Dunnes mon.*² No moneyers, of whom a number of coins are listed, use *mot* consistently without a genitive, though the only recorded specimen of Redwine is in this category.

Grim is a good example (and perhaps Durand too, if he is the same moneyer operating for Eadmund and Eadgar) of a moneyer whose coins are consistent in having both *mot* and *-es* combined, or neither, but never singly. Other moneyers mix their usage, e.g. Mann and Sigar. *Ælfred* always has *mon*, normally with *-es*, but once not. Demenec uses *mot* and *-es* forms separately and rarely.

A few other genitives and *mot* forms exist, and listed below are a number of examples which are or may be relevant but which are not included in Table I. They consist of coins with types other than the horizontal inscription, or with inexplicit spelling; of isolated examples; and of specimens not contained in the five sources of Table I. They do not include coins with the letter M in the obverse field, of Eadred to Eadgar, which are listed in Table II.

ATHELSTAN

BMC type v (small cross pattée and circular inscription each side).

Chester: PAVLES MO LEIGC HC 632 (REX TO B)

Derby: BOIGA MOT ET DEORAIVI BMC 2 } Obvs. both read RE SAXORVM
BOIGA MOT ET DEORABVI HC 623 }
IOIA MOT L DERVBVI (obv. reads + EÐISTANREX TOT BRIT neatly retrograde). Moneyer Iola or
Boi(g)a. C. E. B.

GARIARDES MOT IN DEORABVI (obv. reads + EÐELSAN RE + TO BRIT, with H in field at 5.30 o'clock).
Moneyer? Derby Museum.

MAEGENREDES MO IN DEORABVI HC 625 (RE SAXORVM).

EDEL (?) MOT IN REORABVI—Some letters reversed. *u* in obv. field. BMC 3.

Wardborough (?): BYRTEL MOT PEARI Taff's collection.

No mint name: (?) PEDVRARDES MOTE. *m* in obv. field. ? Moneyer Durand. Bibl. Nat. Paris (292A).

BMC type i (small cross pattée/horizontal inscription).

DOMENCES MO BMC 102.

PAVLS MON BMC 122 (might be for PAVLVS, cf. BMC 136).

EADMUND TO EADGAR

Horizontal inscription types

Eadmund:	DREGL MOT	BMC i, no. 45.
	ELFSTANES M	BMC iii, C 115.
	ERICIL NOT	BMC i, BM ex RCL 579 and Evans.
	WERLAF MOT	BMC iii, C. E. B. ex Ryan 770.
Eadred:	AELFRICES MO	BMC i, C 123.
	DUDEMANES MOT	” C. E. B.
	GILLEQS MOT	” C 174.
	GISLEMER OT	” C 177-8.

¹ The recognition of Othelric's *mot* usage suggests that C 114, catalogued as blundered, is of this moneyer; the inscription is ODUURILEMOT (some letters

reversed). If *u* represents *el* and *ii* represents *sm* or *(s)m*, the inscription reads normally for a coin of this group.

² BMC 21, Eadwig.

GISLEMES M	<i>BMC</i> i, <i>BMC</i> 47.
HUNRED MOT	" <i>BMC</i> 55.
OSBERN MOT	" Seaby Oct. 1951, no. 5670.
Eadwig: CNAPEES	<i>BMC</i> iii, no. 35.
Edgar: IOLES MONET	<i>BMC</i> i, c no. 143.
LEVIC MOT	<i>BMC</i> i, I 204.
VINEES VO	<i>BMC</i> i, f no. 165.
WINEMES MON	F. Baldwin.

Eadgar: circular inscription type (BMC iii unless stated).

DEORVLFES MOT IN	<i>HC</i> 706.
DVRANDES MOT	<i>BMC</i> 168, I 264-5.
DVRANDIES MONETA	<i>BMC</i> 169, I 263.
FASTOLFES MOT	<i>BMC</i> 178-9 I 279-83.
" MO	" 180, I 284.
HEROLFES MOT	" 192-3.
IGOLFERTHES MOT	<i>BMC</i> 194, I 295.
LEOFINCES MOT I	" 196.
WILSIG MOT	" 202 (type iv)

The moneymen of coins listed above and in Table I, so far as they can be connected with specific mints, seem mostly to belong to Derby and Chester. Paul is at Chester under Athelstan, and Boiga at Derby. Boiga was not a rare name, and moneymen of that name struck for Eadwig at Bedford¹ and for Edgar in his last type at Canterbury;² but it occurs at Derby again in two types of Edgar,³ and the coins of Boiga in Table I probably belong to this mint. An obverse reading *Eadred Rex Dorce*⁴ shows Ælfric to have struck there also, and coins of Edgar, *BMC* type iv, by the moneymen Othelric⁵ and Iole⁶ include the Derby mint name in their reverse inscriptions. Sigar and Sigwold at one time worked for Anlaf Guthfrithsson at Derby.⁷ Other Table I moneymen may be represented by coins of Edgar's last type—Dun⁸ and Manna⁹ at York, Frethic at Derby¹⁰ and Wulfgar at Stamford.¹¹ Cnapa coined at Stamford in the same type.¹² Grim worked at Bedford for Eadwig¹³ and Edgar.¹⁴ Gillys is the Chester moneymen of the Howell Dda coin.

In his study of the Iona hoard, Mr. Stevenson suggested that die-cutting schools could be identified, which might have a regional significance.¹⁵ One feature in particular has struck me which may be useful in differentiating the products of one of these various die-cutting schools, viz. the occurrence of the letter M in the obverse field. In working through the *mot/-es* group of moneymen it was impossible not to notice how closely they corresponded with the M-in-field group. The relationship can be seen from Table II.¹⁶

¹ *BMC* 2.

² *BMC* 5.

³ *BMC* type ii, Ryan 787; type iv, C 443.

¹⁵ *NC* 6th ser., xi (1951), pp. 69-71; endorsed by Blunt and Dolley, *BNJ* xxvii (1954), p. 133, n. 2.

⁴ C 122.

⁵ C 450.

⁶ C 444.

⁷ *VCY*, pp. 50-51 and 73.

⁸ *BMC* 10.

⁹ *BMC* 12.

¹⁰ *BMC* 7.

¹¹ *BMC* 44.

¹² *BMC* 42.

¹³ *BMC* 4 (type ii).

¹⁴ *BMC* 4 (type vi).

¹⁶ Two coins from the Chester hoard are included, which are catalogued as reading *Eadwinig* (C 328) and *Emadgar* (C 443). The latter is illustrated, and shows that the M has slipped into the circumscription by a compositor's error; I presume that the same is true of the unillustrated C 328.

TABLE II

Coins of Eadred, Eadwig, and Eadgar, of Horizontal Inscription type, with M in Field

Moneyer	Reign	Inscription	Reference
ÆLFRED	Eadwig	Ælfredes Mon	BMC 15
	Eadgar	"	C 379
ÆTHELNATH	Eadred	Æthelnath	F. Baldwin
ÆTHELWULF	Eadwig	Æthelwulfes Mot	C 308
	Eadgar	Ethelwulfes Mot	C 383
ÆTHERED	Eadgar	Æthered Mo	F 614
AGTARD	Eadred	Agtardes Mot	BMC 9
	Eadwig	"	C 309, F 599
ARNULF	Eadred	Arnulf Mont	BMC 11
BERNARD	Eadred	Bernard Mo	I 68
	Eadwig	"	I 104
BO:GA	Eadgar	Berenard Mo	Argyll
	Eadred	Boigaes Mot	BMC 23
	Eadgar	Boigaes Mon	C 386
DEMENEC	Eadwig	Demence Mon	C 322, F 600
	Eadgar	"	BMC 140, C 389, I 226
DUNN	Eadred	Dunnes Mot	I 71
	Eadwig	" Mon	BMC 21
	"	" Mot	I 105-6
ELFSTAN	Eadgar	Elfstan Mon	HC 692
FRETHIC	Eadred	Ferthices Mot	HC 651
	Eadwig	Frethices Mot	C 328
	Eadgar	"	BMC 141, C 399
	"	Frethices Mo	C 398
GODSERE	Eadwig	Godseres Mot	F 601
GRIMTER (?)	Eadgar	Grimter Mo	CEB
INGELRIC	Eadgar	Ingelries Mon	CEB
INGUC	Eadwig	Inguces Mot	F. Baldwin 1953
LEFINC	Eadgar	Lefinces Mon	BMC 144
LEOFSTAN	Eadgar	Leofstan Mon	C 427
MANN	Eadgar	Mannees Mot	BMC 145
" (?)	"	Manin	RCL 615
OSFERTH	Eadgar	Osferth Mo	I 228
OSWARD	Eadgar	Oswardes Mot	BMC 146, F 615, HC 696
	"	Oswardds Mon	HC 695
OSWULF	Eadgar	Oswulves Mot	CEB
OTHELRIC	Eadred	Othelrices Mot	C 210
	Eadgar	"	PWCB 448
REGTHER	Eadred	Rethgeres Mot	C 216
	Eadwig	Regtheres Mot	I 109
RODBERT	Eadred	Rodberthes Mot	I 73-74
SIGAR	Eadgar	Sigares Mon	C 432
WINEMAN	Eadgar	Winemes Mon	F. Baldwin
WULFGAR	Eadred	Wulfgares Mot	I 77
	Eadwig	"	RCL 3705
	Eadgar	"	I 229-30

Of the moneyers listed in Tables I and II, sixteen are common to both, which is remarkable since the M-in-field coins are distinctly uncommon and many of the names¹

¹ The moneyer Arnulf struck for Anlaf Sihtricsson, apparently at York (VCY, p. 54, fig. 19) during 943-4. Before this he worked for Æthelstan, and after for Eadmund and Eadred (ibid., p. 81). Elfstan of Table II, though not qualifying for Table I, has affinities

with the group. Of his four coins in the Chester hoard, two of Eadgar (C 469, 470—*Eadgar Rex To Bi*) read *Elfstan Moneta*, and one of Eadwig (C 304; *wynn* in king's name) *Elfstan Mo*. His Eadmund penny (C 115) is of the very rare variety BMC type iii, with rosettes

in Table II are represented there by a single specimen. There probably exist other coins elsewhere by moneymen of Table I not recorded here with the M. There are eight such moneymen, but of these Dudeman, Maneca, Redwine and Sigwold are in any case represented in Table I by only six coins in all.

Coins of the moneymen in Tables I and II tend to be engraved with fine, neat letters. A is generally plain and unbarred;¹ only three of the M-in-field coins have a barred A.² Of the twelve coins of Eadwig with the M, only one has vv for w in the king's name,³ the others all having *wynn*, which is otherwise (apart from coins by the moneymen Heriger) rather rare.

The form of M on the reverse of these coins is often elaborately composed of five separate parts—two main uprights, joined by two crescents (or by two small straight dashes disposed v-wise) with a wedge serif or vertical dash in the middle. The small M on the obverse is sometimes of this form also, or else written as an H.

What is the significance of the M in the field? Mr. Dolley suggested that the Mercian privy-mark was originally this curious five-stroke M, which was replaced (though with an overlap) by the rosette as an ornament.⁴ It is noticeable that the M does not occur in the field under Eadmund, perhaps because the king's name contained the letter. The M-in-field also occurs on coins of Anlaf Guthfrithsson which Mr. Dolley attributes to Derby.⁵ The letter perhaps stands for *Mercia*, indicating the province where the die was made or issued or used; it probably does not represent the ethnic⁶ as a continuation of the obverse inscription.⁷ In one instance it is replaced by E on a coin of Anlaf of characteristically Mercian workmanship.⁸ An M (which could perhaps be read as an E) also occurs (on the Anlaf side) on a coin struck from two obverse dies in the names of Æthelstan

between, above, and below the reverse inscription. Besides the rosettes, Blunt and Dolley remark that the five-stroke M 'suggests that the issue was local and confined to the nw'. In addition, I read the penultimate letter on the reverse as s, making *Elfs(t)anes M* (the M upside down), a reading consistent with the foregoing remarks about the occurrence of genitives in this area.

¹ Since writing the above, I find that Mr. Dolley has remarked on this feature and on the curious M described in the next paragraph (MC, p. 6), which go back to Edward the Elder. The following paragraphs have been rewritten after profitable discussion with Mr. Dolley, but all the features mentioned, including characteristics of style, occurred to us independently, which is some argument for their objective existence.

² BMC 144, Edgar; F 614; C 389.

³ C 308.

⁴ MC, p. 7.

⁵ VCY, pp. 50–51, figs. 12–14. The presence of M on Anlaf's coins could be excused as mere imitation. But the dies of Sigar's coin (fig. 12) are expertly engraved, exactly in the official Mercian style of the same moneymen's coins struck for Æthelstan and Eadmund. They were certainly not blindly copied by an ignorant die-cutter.

⁶ One of the Anlaf coins (VCY, fig. 14) apparently includes a different ethnic (EI . . R, retrograde) in the circumscriptio. This presumably means *Anlaf King*

of (the Kingdom of) York, since it is a Derby coin. The same applies to his flower-type coins of the moneymen Ingelgar (VCY, p. 52, fig. 16) which read *Rex Ebr*, as do a few of Eadmund after he recaptured York in 944. Mr. Dolley interprets *REXTOD* on flower coins of Anlaf by Rathulf as *Rex To D, King at Derby*. He quotes (VCY, p. 75) a coin reading *MO TO LI* (*money(-er) at Leicester*) and *Rex an Situn* on Swedish coins to support the use of *To* in this sense and the use of a place-name after the Latin title. For the latter, there are also coins reading *Cnut R Eofe* (Hildebrand, 614–15). If *tod* = *To D*, Anlaf is excused of the 'swaggering gesture' (G. C. Brooke, *English Coins*, 3rd edn. (London, 1950), p. 37) of imitating Æthelstan's *Tot(ius) Brit(anniae)*; but presumably coins of Eadgar with *TOD* (BMC 200 and 203) would have to be interpreted similarly, which is possible in their case, but less likely for very similar coins (BMC 198–9) which have *TO* only, extremely weak by itself meaning *at*, but less so if imitating the old *Tot Brit* formula.

⁷ That the M was considered separate from the obverse inscription is suggested by the fact that it occurs on the reverse of the Anlaf coins, even on that of Sigar (*Sigares Mot*, VCY, fig. 12; Brooke, pl. x. 2) who has it on the obverse of his coin of Eadgar (C 432—*Sigares Mon*).

⁸ VCY, pp. 50 (fig. 11) and 73; also BNJ v (1909), p. 89.

and Anlaf.¹ The so-called s which occasionally occurs in the field is probably not a letter at all.²

The demonstrable connexions, on other grounds, between the moneymen of Tables I and II with the mints of Chester and Derby do strongly support the idea that both the *mot*-es forms and the m-in-field are Mercian in origin. Shrewsbury, Oxford, and Tamworth probably came within Mercia, but Chester and Derby were the pre-eminent mints. It is not suggested that either feature was invariable, but they may be found useful in further breaking down the regional die-cutting schools. Like Mr. Stevenson, I present some observations on the material in the hope that others more expert than myself in the coinage of this period may find it profitable to pursue their detailed numismatic significance.

We return to the word *Mot*. It occurs on a limited number of mid-tenth-century coins, which on other considerations are attributable to Mercia, particularly to the mints of Chester and Derby. In a very high proportion of its appearances it is accompanied by an English genitive. Under Eadgar a deliberate distinction seems to be made, on coins in the name of the same moneymen, between inscriptions with *Moneta* and those with *Mot*—e.g. *Fastolf Moneta*³ and *Fastolfe Mot*.⁴ The same distinction between languages⁵ is broadly found on coins by many Table I moneymen, Grim being the best example.

I am sure that *Mot* is not an abbreviation or contraction of a longer word. It never appears with the superscript line of contraction or suspension which is so common over M, MO, MON, and MONE. Two very similar coins of Eadgar, both with M in the obverse field, by the moneymen Oswald, illustrate the distinction conveniently:⁶ one reads MÖN, with the line, the other MOT without. *Mot* is clearly a word in its own right, and all the evidence suggests that it was thought of as a synonym of the Latin *Moneta*. It has been argued above that the latter is itself not an abbreviation, but a deliberate form, in which case it can only be the Latin noun for 'die' or 'coin'.

The moneymen Boiga has some especially interesting forms germane to the interpretation of these words. His normal usage is *Boigae Mot*, with an incorrectly formed English genitive; and in the same way that -es was added mechanically to the root, so apparently was -i for the Latin form, which is again grammatically incorrect for the first declension.

¹ *VCY*, pp. 52 (fig. 15) and 75.

² Eadred, *BMC* 69 (Osferth) and 71 (Oswald); both are m-in-field moneymen (if Oswald = Oswald). s might stand as an ethnic for *Saxoniorum*; *Rex S* in this sense, though less common than *Rex A(nglorum)*, does occur under Eadgar on coins especially of the *Mot*-es moneymen Fastolf (*BMC* 173, 180) and Boiga (jointly with Fastolf—*BMC* 182). But apart from the arguments (see above, p. 37, nn. 6 and 7) against M in this position being the ethnic, which equally apply, the s seems in fact to be merely two linked crescents, an ordinary privy-mark in the series.

³ *BMC* 75.

⁴ *BMC* 178-9.

⁵ Such apparent mixtures of languages as do occur need not surprise (see above, p. 37, n. 6). A possible example is the unique silver penny of Eanred. Mr. Blunt (D. M. Wilson and C. E. Blunt, 'The Trewhiddle Hoard', *Archaeologia*, xciii, pp. 75-122, esp. pp. 113-

16) who argues convincingly against this piece belonging to the time of Eanred of Northumbria, quotes Mr. Dolley's suggestion that its reverse inscription *Des Moneta* means *Money of that (king)*, referring to the royal name on the obverse. This certainly seems a possibility. The theme *thes* is unrecorded for a proper name, and is preferably read as the genitive of *se*, 'that'. There are other examples of an obverse inscription containing name and titles in the nominative combined with a reverse referring to the coin as being the money of the ruler in question: e.g. *Ph's Dux Burg' et Comes Flandrie Moneta Comitis Flandrie* (Flanders, Philip the Good, 1419-67, double gros of Bruges). The Eanred penny has an unexplained ornament (? letter, like an uncial M inverted) after *Moneta*, which may not have any significance at all; if it was purely decorative, to fill space, it further argues for *Moneta* being a complete word.

⁶ *HC* 695 and 696.

For this seems to be the case with two otherwise unparalleled forms, *Boigai Moneta*,¹ and *Boigai Mynet*.² The latter, though with a misformed Latin genitive,³ contains the regular English word for 'coin', and adds weight to the idea that all three words, *Mynet*, *Mot*, and *Moneta* (or its abbreviation), mean 'coin' in this context.

There is abundant evidence that *Moneta* was used to mean 'coin' and 'die' equally, both in classical and medieval Latin.⁴ In the light of other medieval coin inscriptions discussed above, the chances are that it was more generally understood to mean 'money' or 'coin'. The occurrence of *Mynet* supports this. Whether *Moneta*, or any other word in this context, actually means 'die' or 'coin' does not matter too much; and it must be remembered that, in translating it into a language such as our own which has different words for the two meanings, we are seeking to make a definition which the original engraver of the die need never have done.

This is important for the meaning of *Mot*. In Old Nordic,⁵ it is glossed as 'stamp' or 'mark'. The inscriptions on early Norwegian coins suggest that it acquired the technical sense of 'coin-die', a not improbable meaning in view of those given for the verb *mota*, 'to stamp', 'to coin'.

Once *Mót* had been used with this meaning, the transference of meaning from the die to the thing struck from it appears (on analogy at least) to have been natural. Whether it occurred in Norway is doubtful; the form of the inscriptions on Norwegian coins containing the word *Mót*, and the similar usage of the word *peningr* (never glossed other than as 'coin', or in the plural 'money'), suggest that the latter is as likely to have been used with the sense of 'die' as *mót* with the sense of 'coin'. Again, however, there can be no certainty and the distinction is not of fundamental importance.

English tenth-century coin inscriptions certainly suggest that *Mót* was used as an alternative for *Moneta*, probably with the meaning of *Mynet*, in areas where Old Nordic was familiar.⁶ At Chester and Derby at least it seems that *Mót* rather than *Mynet* was the normal word. A gloss of *nomisma* as *mynitt re vel móti* in the Lindisfarne Gospels⁷ makes the two words synonymous, and is in fact the only textual occurrence of *Mot* in England at this period.⁸ Nevertheless the numismatic evidence is so strong and consistent

¹ Eadmund, *BMC* 32.

² C 152.

³ *Gotae Mone* (Eadmund, *BMC* 74) is apparently an example of the first declension Latin genitive correctly formed.

⁴ Holst collates examples.

⁵ Dr. Page writes 'The term Old Norse is ambiguous. Some (myself included) use it to mean Old Nordic (i.e. ancestor of Danish and Swedish as well as Norwegian). Others (e.g. the English Place Name Society) use it to mean old Norwegian. . . . Certain Danish dictionaries give an Old Danish cognate to *on móti*.' Since we are dealing not only with the North of England, under Norwegian influence, but also the Danelaw, I use Old Nordic here to avoid ambiguity and to include the wider linguistic grouping.

⁶ The inscription *AVRAMONITRE* occurs on coins attributed by Mr. Dolley to Anlaf Sihtrisson (*VCY*, p. 47, fig. 6) and Regnald Guthfrithsson (*VCY*, p. 49, fig. 10; also *HC* 523-4). Sir Charles Oman (*The Coinage of England*, Oxford 1931, p. 60) made the interesting suggestion, not followed by Mr. Dolley, that *Aura* was not a moneyer's name but the ON. word for money

or treasure (cf. modern *öre*). *Monit Re* could thus be *Moneta Regis*, though *Aura* and *Moneta* together is curious. However, forms such as *Minetr*, *Monetra*, *Monetr* in this Viking series do look convincingly like the English (*Mynetere*) or Latin (*Monetarius*) words for moneyer, and *Monitre* is comparable. The last letter is enigmatical: if it is really *G*, *Reg(is)* looks probable. But I wonder whether it is an integral part of the inscription at all—it occurs frequently at the end of both obverse and reverse inscriptions in this series and might almost be a die-cutter's mark (e.g. *Anlaf Cunun Γ /Aura Monitre Γ, VCY*, fig. 6; *Anlaf Cununc Γ, VCY*, fig. 7; *Rathulf Monet Γ, VCY*, fig. 9; *Anlaf Cununc Γ /Faman Moneta Γ, HC* 522).

⁷ Matth. xxii. 19. Professor Whitelock writes, 'One would expect *mynitt vel móti*. I do not know what *re* is. If meant as part of *mynitre* it would of course mean moneyer.' But this makes no sense here.

⁸ Professor Whitelock writes, 'If *mot* was a regular term for "coin" in the Scandinavianised parts of England, it is odd that it is only recorded once. Still, we have not many texts from this area, and I think

that it seems reasonable to look upon *Mot* as a regular word for 'coin' in parts of England where the speech of Norsemen and Danes was familiar.

Finally, a word about the grammar of Anglo-Saxon coin inscriptions and the various forms which appeared in the late tenth century when mint names were added as a regular feature.

It is quite clear that many die-cutters did not understand what they were engraving; and, moreover, that they often used one die as a model for the next. In the same way that a textual critic can reconstruct a stemma for the copying of manuscripts from one or more originals, so the numismatist can often point to errors in copying which prove the one die must have been directly copied from another, or from an existing coin. Relatively few of the coins of David I of Scotland read DAVIT REX, and of Archbishop Philip I of Heinsberg, PHIL(ippus) ARC(hiepiscopus). The normal forms¹ are AVIT REX and HITARC, which occur on the large majority of dies. The chances against these mistakes having been made independently over and over again are enormous; each error was made once, and then blindly reproduced. A very remarkable case of individual copying occurs on the Thetford coins of type II of William the Conqueror. On three reverse dies of the moneyer Cinric, the initial cross has been omitted apparently because the D was cut in error on the first die as + and thought to include the cross: CINRIC ON+IEOTNF. Two dies derive from this one, each reading CINRIC OND+IEOTNF, where an attempt has apparently been made to cut a coherent inscription, though the + remains.²

This makes it less surprising that most ninth- and tenth-century Anglo-Saxon coins with a moneyer's name have a form, e.g. *Heremod Moneta*, which does not explain the relationship between the two nouns and no doubt led to *Moneta* being thought of as meaning *Moneta(rius)*. We have seen how Norwegian inscriptions in Runic passed from 'Leofric has this die' to 'Leofric . . . die'. There are also one or two inscriptions in that series with Roman letters which show *Mót* with the moneyer's name either in the nominative (-r) or genitive (-s): IEOPRICR MOT and LEFRICS MOT. These are more explicit than the English, since the nominative is not an uninflected root.

Portuguese coins of the later fifteenth century contain some arresting examples of muddled grammar at a time when coin inscriptions had become much more elaborate and sophisticated. On coins of Alfonso V (1438–81) there occur *Dominus Alf. Regis Portugal*,³ *Alfonsus Quinti Regis*,⁴ and on the two sides of the same coin, a grosso of Castille,⁵ *Alfonsus Dei Gracia Rex Castele*/*Alfonsus Dei Gracia Regis Castele*.

It seems as if the die-cutters of the Anglo-Saxon coinage did not understand the exact

nomisma and *moneta* are rare in the Gospels, so the gloss is not required. I do not think it survived into Middle English.'

¹ Both have caused misattributions. AV . . . on poor specimens led Lindsay, *View of the Coinage of Scotland*, Cork, 1845, p. 5 and pl. i, nos. 6–8, to describe them under Alexander I. Until HIT was realized to be a corruption of PHIL, other attributions were sought—e.g. Archbp. Hildebroed (Thomsen, ii, p. 104).

² G. C. Brooke, *Catalogue of English Coins in the British Museum, Norman Kings* (London, 1916), vol. i, p. cxxxvi. Brooke writes 'on the supposition that the mistaken letter represented H, the letter D is inserted

before it'. Sir.22, however, there is no initial cross on any of the three dies, it seems possible that the inscription was not understood at all and thought to end —ON+, i.e. without a mint name. As a result D (for D) was inserted. This seems to be supported by the fact that in these inscriptions the + occurs opposite the end of one of the limbs of the cross-design, whereas the first letter of Cinric does not: this is not, however, conclusive since on a number of reverse dies of the type inscriptions start at irregular points.

³ Thomsen 2881.

⁴ Thomsen 2884.

⁵ Thomsen 2888.

grammatical forms of the inscriptions or of the words they contained. A coin of Eadmund¹ with the remarkable reverse reading *Clac Mone Mone Mon* suggests that the engraver knew the abbreviation *MONE* to have a general sense connected with moneyers and minting, but was ignorant of the full form of the word.

From the mid-tenth century the use of mint names became more general and in the major recoinage at the end of Eadgar's reign, when minting was systematically decentralized, the reverse inscription was more or less standardized to contain the name of moneyer and mint. Table III shows some of the many experimental forms and the way in which they led to the formulae eventually adopted throughout. Only a selection of forms is given.

TABLE III

Forms of Inscriptions on tenth-century Anglo-Saxon Coins containing the Name of Moneyer and Mint

No.	Reign	Type	Mint	Inscription	Refs.
1	Athelstan	BMC v	Bath	Biorhtulf Mon Bat Civitate	BMC 1
2	"	"	Hereford	Hunlaf Mo Heref	BMC 21
3	"	"	Chester	Abba Mo in Lege Cf	BMC 22
4	"	"	London	Ere Moneta Lund Civiet (ERE = ELE?)	BMC 59
5	Eadwig	BMC ii	Bedford	Baldwine Beda	BMC 1
6	"	"	"	Boiga Moneta Beda	BMC 2
7	Eadgar	BMC iv	Derby	Fretthic in Deorby	BMC 7
8	"	"	"	Manes Mot in Doi	C 447
9	"	BMC iii	"	Boia Mot in Debi	C 443
10	"	"	Oxford	Wulfstan Mō Oxna Urbis	C 455

It is not to be insisted that the engraver worked out the grammatical construction in every case; but the apparent meanings of the inscriptions are worth considering. No. 1 could be 'Biorhtulf Moneyer at the City of Bath'; equally, 'The die—or coin—(of) Biorhtulf in the City of Bath'. No. 3 is similar, with the preposition *in* added.² No. 4, with *Moneta* in full, perhaps suggests that 'die', or 'coin', not 'moneyer' was meant. No. 5, a straight statement of the necessary information—'Baldwine, Bedford'—might have become more widely used, one would have thought. Nos. 8 and 9 use *Mot* still, Man making his genitive but Boia being a form which could stand as genitive without inflection.³ No. 9 can be compared with the coins of Athelstan, listed above on p. 34, which have essentially the same inscription, but with *et* (*aet* = *at*) instead of *in*. No. 10 might mean 'Wulfstan moneyer of the City of Oxford' or 'the die—or coin—(of) Wulfstan of the City of Oxford'.

No. 2, spasmodically used from Æthelstan onwards, was to become the regular form once the coinage settled down after Eadgar's reform. To start with, the word *Moneta* in full sometimes appeared between the names of moneyer and mint *Baldic Moneta Beda*⁴ or *Wilmund Moneta Grant*.⁵ But it settled down to *Mō*, sometimes *MON*. This in

¹ BMC 151; and cf. Eadmund type VI, *Cygel Mone Mone* (Bibl. Nat., Paris, no. 293) perhaps by the same moneyer as BMC 155.

² Cf. = *C(i)v*, *f* being often used for its phonetic equivalent *v*; cf. *Cifitatis* on a coin of Archbp. Wulfrid

(BNJ xxvi, p. 343).

³ See above, p. 32, n. 3.

⁴ Edward the Martyr, BMC 3.

⁵ Æthelred II, 1st hand type. HC 785 (Cambridge).

turn gave way to *ON*¹ during Æthelred II's reign though *MO* persisted in north-east England until well into the reign of Cnut. Thereafter any contracted form of *Moneta* or *Monetarius* drops out, though if a die-cutter had space to fill, he might reintroduce it at the end—e.g. *Carla on Eaxcestre Mo.*²

¹ The use of *on* rather than *in* has sometimes puzzled numismatists, on the grounds that *on* implied motion towards. Professor Whitelock comments that in the greater part of the Anglo-Saxon period, there is no difference in meaning between *on* and *in*, but in West Saxon *in* is displaced by *on*. Motion towards is shown by the case governed, i.e. accusative. The form *an* (cf. *Anlaf/Onlaf*) occurs in a comparable context to the English *M-ON* on the Swedish coin of Svend Tveskjaeg (P. Hauberg, *Myntforhold og Udmyntninger i Danmark indtil 1146*, Copenhagen, 1900, pl. i) which reads

Godwine M-an Daner. An example of this coin was in the Näs hoard, which contained no English coin later than Long Cross. Since *M-AN* must mean *M(. . . ?) an*, Mr. Dolley asks whether *M-on*, and *M-o* too, may not represent *M—on*, i.e. 'moneyer at', rather than *Mon—*, i.e. 'moneyer'. The form *M-ON* is generally post-1010, being transitional between *M-o* and *ON*.

² Hildebrand, Æthelred II, 496; supported by Hild. 117, *God on Cadanbyri M.*

Postscript

1. Mr. Lyon has drawn my attention to a coin of Æthelred II, *Last Small Cross* type (F 743) reading *Edwine Mtr on Lunden*. This lends support to the suggestion (n. 1 above) that *M-ON* meant 'moneyer at' (*mynetere on*) at the time when English was replacing Latin in reverse inscriptions. I still find it difficult, however, to understand *M-o*, in the earlier period of Latin inscriptions, as having the same connotation, rather than being merely an abbreviation of a Latin word, *Moneta*, or perhaps *Monetarius*.
2. The inscription *Grossi Pragenses* in the plural (Bohemia, John the Blind, 1309–46) suggests that *Moneta* on a fourteenth-century coin could be understood to mean the money in general of which it was a part, rather than the particular coin itself (see above, p. 30).

TWO ANGLO-SAXON NOTES

C. E. BLUNT

THE COINAGE OF ÆTHELRED, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, 870-89

THE primacy of Æthelred, Archbishop of Canterbury, lasted nineteen years, from 870 to 889, yet until recently only three of his coins were known to have survived. It is now possible to add a fourth which has for many years been in the Maidstone Museum. Its provenance is unknown. The coins may be described as follows:

1. **EDERED/ARCHIEPI** Diademed bust to right; no inner circle.
+ ED/EL/MV/ND in the quarters of a quatrefoil, filling the field, the centre voided with a lozenge containing a cross and pellets.
Wt. 20½ gr.
Maidstone Museum. (Pl. III A)
2. + **EDELRED/ARCHIEPI** Generally similar type.
+ TO/RHT (ligulated) /MV/ND in the quarters of a cross extending to the edge, the centre voided with a lozenge across the sides of which are bars; a cross in the centre.
Wt. 20·5 gr.
Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, *Sylloge* 446, ex Young 1936, ex Carlyon-Britton (1913), 303, ex Murdoch (1903), 44. Found near Tetbury, Glos. (Pl. III B)
3. + **EDERED/ARCHIEPI** Diademed bust to right of different style, within inner circle.
ED/ER/ED/MO in the quarters of a quatrefoil divided by a cross, in centre a smaller circle containing a cross saltire. The legend is completed in the spaces outside the quatrefoil with the letters NETA.
Wt. 21·9 gr.
British Museum, *BMC* 61, ex Hollis (1817), 70. (Pl. III C)
4. + **EDERED ARCHIP** circular legend between two circles. In centre a small cross.
ELFSTA/NMO in two lines, a pellet above and below. The letter o is of a form specially associated with the Canterbury mint.
Wt. not recorded.
The Hon. Ralph Assheton, ex Cuerdale hoard. (Pl. III D).

Other coins have at different times been attributed to Archbishop Æthelred. Some, with the bust, are modern imitations of the British Museum coin;¹ others are blundered coins, Danish imitations of coins of Alfred or of Æthelred's successor Plegmund.²

The four authentic coins of Æthelred conform to three types of Alfred. Nos. 1 and 2 are similar to the latter's *BMC* type V; no. 3 to *BMC* II, and no. 4 to *BMC* XIV. Three of the four moneymen worked for Alfred, Ethelmund on *BMC* type I and V; Torhtmund on *BMC* I and V; Æthe(l)red on *BMC* V and (probably) II (the latter is known from a single fragment, on which only the last two letters of the moneymen's name appear). Elfstan's name is found on imitative coins of Canterbury type, e.g. *BMC* 69. The name also occurs on coins of Edward the Elder³ but in neither case do the coins seem to be issues of the Canterbury mint and the moneymen may therefore be another person.

¹ A specimen is illustrated in the *British Numismatic Journal*, xxviii, pl. i (facing p. 24), 13.

² Specimens are *BMC* (Alfred) 37; Ryan sale (1952) 605; the Hon. Ralph Assheton. All three are

from the same dies.

³ e.g. Rome hoard, Glendinings 16.5.1929, 83 (ill.); another is in Edinburgh.

Alfred's types II and V are attributed within the years 875-86, his type XIV at Canterbury to c. 887-c. 894.¹ There appear therefore to be no coins known of the first years of Æthelred's primacy. If such a coin is found one would expect it to be similar to the latest of his predecessor, Archbishop Ceolnoth, and to the earliest issue of Alfred, *BMC I*.

It will be noted that the weight of the British Museum specimen is recorded here as 21.9 gr. against the 31.1 gr. given in the *British Museum Catalogue*. The latter weight would be surprisingly high and a check has shown that a mistake was made in the *Catalogue*.

It will also be noted that on three of his coins the archbishop spells his name Ethered. On the Fitzwilliam specimen, however, the fuller form Ethelred is found.

It must be a matter of surprise that so few coins of this archbishop have come down to us. That his issues may well have been on a larger scale than surviving specimens would suggest seems probable from the fact that four moneymen worked for him, even if not exclusively. Elfstan must only have begun working in the last years of his primacy; the others, however, may well have operated over a period of some years. That there was in progress some curtailment of the archbishop's coining privileges is clear from the fact that in the last years of Ceolnoth's time the royal bust replaced the archbishop's, a feature continued on Æthelred's first coins. The disappearance of the bust altogether was probably due to nothing more than a desire to make his later coins conform in type with other contemporary Canterbury issues. The final disappearance of the archbishop's name on the coinage occurred on the death of his successor.

I am very much indebted to Mr. L. R. A. Grove of the Maidstone Museum for kindly bringing this important new coin of Æthelred to my attention and for allowing it to be published here.

TENTH-CENTURY HALF-PENNIES AND C. ROACH SMITH'S PLATE OF COINS FOUND IN LONDON

IN our report on the Chester (1950) hoard Mr. Dolley and I commented on a lost half-penny of Edgar of the mint of Winchester and reproduced, by courtesy of Mr. J. D. A. Thompson, a drawing of it in a manuscript volume in his possession, the work of the Rev. T. F. Dymock. We hazarded the suggestion that, although in certain points it differed from the description of a specimen exhibited by Roach Smith to the Numismatic Society in 1841, the fact that no specimen was known today made it possible that Dymock's drawing might be an attempt to reproduce Roach Smith's coin.²

Since our paper was written, I have acquired an engraving of the latter coin which makes it clear that the two are quite distinct specimens. The two pieces are reproduced here, Dymock's drawing Pl. III. 15, Roach Smith's engraving Pl. III. 14. The differences between the two will be readily apparent. Roach Smith's coin appears to have disintegrated³ but we may now hope that the specimen drawn by Dymock will one day turn up.

The plate on which Roach Smith's coin appears was drawn by him and is entitled 'Found in London'. Where, if anywhere, it was published I have not been able to ascertain. It is not in such copies of his *Catalogue of the Museum of London Antiquities* as I have seen nor is it in his *Collectanea Antiqua*. The other coins on the plate are:

¹ *Anglo-Saxon Coins* (Methuen, 1961), pp. 80 ff.

² *BNJ* xxvii. 135.

³ *Ibid.*

1. An Alfred penny of the London monogram type (*BMC* VI). This is likely to be the coin exhibited by Roach Smith at the same meeting at which he exhibited the Edgar halfpenny. It is satisfactory to note that this is a 'true' London coin and not one of the many imitative pieces. It is stated to have been found 'between Old Broad Street and the site of the French Protestant Church'.¹ This coin is in the British Museum.

2. The celebrated lead trial-piece of Alfred, discussed by Mr. Dolley in a paper read some years ago and exhibited at the same meeting in 1841 by E. B. Price.²

3. A Merovingian tremissis of Cormes, Sarthe, by the moneyer Gunricus, now in the British Museum (Pl. III e).

4. An uncertain tremissis the whereabouts of which it has not been possible to trace (Pl. III f).

5. What would appear to be an Ancient British tin coin, Mack 9 ff., (perhaps from the St. James's Park find?) (Pl. III g).

At the June 1962 meeting of the Society Mr. Dolley exhibited on behalf of Mr. Philip Rahtz, the second known specimen of a halfpenny of Eadmund and, in view of this and of the interest aroused by Mr. Grierson's suggestion that most of the small denominations in the name of Alfred may be one-third rather than half-pennies, it may be of value to list here, with illustrations and weights where available, the few known half-pennies of the tenth century. With the exception of no. 9, the present whereabouts of which are not known, all are illustrated on Pl. III.

EDWARD THE ELDER, all *BMC* II

1. Moneyer Biornwald. *BMC* 71, ex Tyssen Wt. 9.3 gr.
2. Moneyer Biornwald. Blunt, ex Ryan 736, &c. Wt. 9 gr.
3. Moneyer Ciolulf. Ashmolean, bequeathed Ballard, 1755. Wt. 8.0 gr.
4. Moneyer Wynberht. *BMC* 72, ex Cuerdale hoard. Chipped.

ÆTHELSTAN. None recorded.

EADMUND. Both *BMC* I.

5. Moneyer Baldwin, *BM Acqns.* 545. Pres. H. A. Grueber, 1907. Reads +EADMVN-DREO+. Wt. 9.1 gr.
6. Moneyer Biorhtulf. Taunton Museum from the Cheddar excavations 1962. Wt. 8.4 gr.

EADRED

BMC I.

7. Moneyer Biorhtulf. A. E. Bagnall, ex Carlyon-Britton 426, &c. Found at Tewkesbury. Wt. 8.7 gr.

BMC I (North-western variant)

8. Moneyer Gilys. BM, ex Chester (1950) T.T., no. 260. Wt. 8.6 gr. This is the variant of *BMC* I which, under Edgar, is designated *Id.*

¹ *Proc. Num. Soc.* 23 Dec. 1841.

² *Ibid.* and *BNJ* xxvii. 175-8.

9. Moneyer uncertain. O'Hagan sale (1907) 341 ex Montagu (1895) 694. Not illustrated in either case. This coin is described by Montagu as 'bisected for the purpose of creating two farthings'¹ but the O'Hagan catalogue says 'the piece is apparently broken and *not cut* as stated in the Montagu catalogue'. The present whereabouts of this fragment are not known and no illustration is available, but the type from the description appears to be similar to the last coin. The only letters visible on the reverse are, according to Montagu's account, 'AFMO' and according to the Montagu sale catalogue ADMO. The O'Hagan catalogue does not give the reading. It is possible that the moneyer is Wilaf who struck pennies of this type for Eadred (e.g. *BMC* 84). The weight is given by Montagu as 4½ gr.²

10. *BMC*—Moneyer Mangod. Blunt, ex Sothebys sale 17.3.1955, lot 30. Wt. 8·9 gr. The type is generally that of *BMC* I but instead of the cross on the obverse there is a star-like object of twelve points. This coin has been fully discussed by Mr. Dolley in vol. xxviii of this journal, pp. 182–4.

11. *BMC*—Moneyer Hildulf. BM, ex Chester (1950) T.T., no. 261. Wt. 3·8 gr. This has been cut for use as a farthing. The obverse type has the usual small cross of *BMC* I but the reverse presents us with a type otherwise unknown for Eadred; the moneyer's name is in one line across the field with a rosette below. The top half of the reverse type is off the coin, but the fact that the whole of the moneyer's name is visible on half the coin suggests that it may be similar to the halfpenny by the same moneyer struck for Edgar (no. 16 below). Alternatively it is possible that it has a rosette above the moneyer's name in which case it would be comparable to Eadwig's type *BMC* III.

EADWIG *BMC*—

12. Moneyer Eadwine. BM, ex Chester (1950) T.T., no. 374. Wt. 9·7 gr. The obverse has the usual small cross of *BMC* I; the reverse presents us with a type otherwise unknown for Eadwig, the moneyer's name is in one line with a floral design above and a rosette below.

EDGAR. All of types not recorded in *BMC*.

13. London. No moneyer. *Obv.* crowned bust to r.; *rev.* monogram of London as on coins of Alfred. BM ex Chester (1950) T.T., no. 515. Wt. 10·8 gr. This coin is fully discussed in vol. xxvii of this journal, pp. 135–6.

14. Winchester. No moneyer. Wt. ? The disintegrated coin found at St. Bartholomew's Church, London, discussed above.

15. Winchester. No moneyer. Wt. ? The coin in the Dymock manuscript, discussed above.

16. Moneyer Hildulf. BM, bought Spink 1899. Wt. 8·4 gr. The obverse type has the usual small cross of *BMC* I; the reverse is generally similar to the unique halfpenny of Eadwig, but has a letter either side of the 'flower'. The significance of this is discussed in vol. xxvii of this journal, p. 136.

17. Moneyer Oswine. BM, ex Chester (1950) T.T., no. 514. Wt. 7·0 gr. Type similar to no. 16.

¹ *NC* 1884, 350.

² *Op. cit.*

A point of interest that emerges from a study of these halfpennies is that, whereas in Edward's, Eadmund's, and part of Eadred's reign the halfpennies were struck of types used for the penny, Eadred's no. 10 and quite possibly no. 11, and all the subsequent halfpennies are of types never found on the penny.

We are fortunate in having two mint names on Edgar's halfpennies, London and Winchester. Biorhtulf, found on Eadmund no. 6 and the Eadred no. 7 is a moneyer under Æthelstan and Eadwig at Bath and, under the former, at the uncertain mint of *Darent*.¹ At *Darent* he spells his name Beorhtulf. On the Bath coins of Æthelstan he used the inverted F that is also found on Eadmund's halfpenny and we may reasonably associate both these halfpennies, one of which was found at Tewkesbury, the other at Cheddar, with the Bath mint. About the Edward coins there must be more uncertainty. Wynberht was a well-known moneyer in Alfred's type *BMC XIV*, producing sometimes coins of unusual style. Bernwald (= ? Biornwald) was also an Alfred moneyer in this type. Ciolulf is, apparently, not found in Alfred's type *XIV*, but is known in his type *V*. None of these moneyers is recorded for Æthelstan and it may well be that Edward's halfpennies, one of which it will be noted came from the Cuerdale hoard, dep. c. 903-5, were all issued early in his reign. Their place of issue must remain uncertain but the fact that fractions of the penny seem in the ninth century to have found particular favour in the Danelaw may point to their having a Midland origin. An early issue could account for the absence of any halfpennies of Æthelstan's.

A number of the later coins have a distinct north-western flavour. Eadred, nos. 8 and 9, if the type of the latter be as described, are certainly to be associated with that area. The rosette on the reverses of Eadred, no. 11, Hildulf; Eadwig, no. 12, Eadwine; Edgar, nos. 16 and 17, Hildulf and Oswine all point in that direction as do the floral designs.

Eadmund, no. 5, by the moneyer Baldwin, Mr. Dolley attributes 'with considerable reserve' to an East Anglian mint.² He does not go into reasons but appears to be judging on stylistic grounds. Baldwin was a Bedford moneyer of Eadwig's and we may reasonably associate this halfpenny with that mint.

Mangod, found on Eadred, no. 10, was, as Mr. Dolley has pointed out,³ a moneyer at *Hamton* and Winchester, under Eadwig. He discussed the identification of *Hamton* in this context and attributes the coins to Northampton, but gives good reason for associating the halfpenny with the Winchester moneyer of that name.

The pattern which emerges is thus as follows:

Edward the Elder issued early in the reign, perhaps in the Midlands.

Æthelstan. No halfpennies known.

Eadmund. Issued at Bath and Bedford.

Eadred. Issued at Bath and Winchester, and in north-west England (Chester?).

Eadwig. Issued in north-west England (Chester?).

Edgar. Issued at London and Winchester and in north-west England (Chester?).

There remains the question of the denomination these fractional coins were intended to represent. Mr. Grierson has pointed out the low weight of the bulk of the fractional coins struck in the name of Alfred and has put forward the suggestion that these may

¹ Mr. Dolley, in an as yet unpublished note, has suggested that *Darent Vrbs* could signify Totnes, which lies on the Dart river.

² *BNJ xxviii*, 184.

³ *Ibid.*

be third-pennies.¹ In the case of the tenth-century coins the weights, though low for half a penny, seem to preclude any suggestion that they were thirds. That the small denominations were proportionately more expensive to produce must have been the case as much in Anglo-Saxon times as when William de Turnemire under Edward I successfully claimed that he should be allowed to put more alloy in them 'because of the great expense of making the said small money'.² A similar result would be achieved by lowering their weight.

The weights given above for whole coins may be summarized as follows:

Edward the Elder	9·3, 9, 8·0 gr.
Eadmund	9·1, 8·4 gr.
Eadred	8·9, 8·7, 8·6 gr.
Eadwig	9·7 gr.
Edgar	10·8, 8·4, 7·0 gr.

Without going into the complicated question of the varying weight standard of the penny at different times in the tenth century, it can with reasonable confidence be asserted that in the five reigns mentioned above, up to the time of Edgar's reform coinage, it never reached 27 grains, which would seem the minimum figure required to warrant further consideration of the question whether these tenth-century fractional pieces might be third pennies.

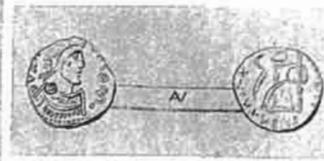
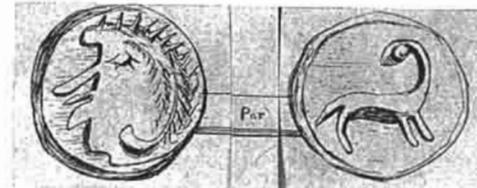
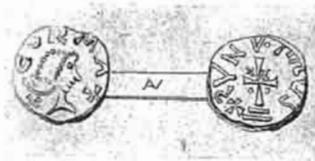
¹ *BNJ* xxviii, 477 ff. See also *Anglo-Saxon Coins* (Methuen, 1961), 89. The comment made in the latter reference that Henry I's legislation mentioning a third penny (a coin clearly not existing at that time) was suggestive evidence that too much reliance should not

be placed on a similar reference in Alfred's laws probably failed to take adequate account of the fact that Henry was, here, reciting earlier laws.

² *BNJ* vii, 112.



COINS OF ARCHBISHOP AETHELRED



E

G

F

Xth CENT. HALFPENNIES, ETC.



TWO NOTES ON THE 'LAST SMALL CROSS' TYPE OF ÆTHELRAED II

C. S. S. LYON

I. A LATE VARIETY FROM THE LONDON MINT

THERE is a very rare variety of Æthelræd's Last Small Cross type which differs from the normal in that the king's bust, instead of being confined within the inner circle, breaks the circle and extends to the edge of the coin, thereby dividing the inscription. Although the diadem is retained, and the inscription, as is usual with the Last Small



FIG. A.

Cross type, begins above the head, this modified design in some measure echoes the Long Cross issue, and suggests that the authorities may have been experimenting in search of a new type. That the obverse design could be varied to a minor degree during the currency of a particular issue, provided that the reverse remained standard, is demonstrated by the various transitional varieties at the end of the Crux issue¹ one of which, in its portraiture, anticipated the Long Cross type which followed. Indeed, the almost complete absence from the late Anglo-Saxon coinage of 'mules' combining a current obverse type with an obsolete reverse type suggests, *inter alia*, that an issue was recognized primarily by its reverse type and only secondarily by its obverse.

The variety in question is known only of the London mint. Hildebrand designated it Type A var. e, and listed the following examples:

1. *Obv.* +ÆDELRAE/D REX AI
Rev. +EADPOLD MO LVNDE
Hild. 2421. Weight 1.06 gm. (16.3 gr.). (Fig. A, 1)

¹ See R. H. M. Dolley and F. Elmore Jones, 'An Intermediate Small Cross Issue of Æthelræd II and Some Late Varieties of the Crux Type', *BNJ* xxviii, pp. 75-87, and R. H. M. Dolley, 'Some Further Remarks on the Transitional Crux Issue of Æthelræd II', *BNJ* xxix, pp. 259-64.

2. *Obv.* +ÆDELRAE/D REX A*Rev.* +GODRIC MO LVNDE

Hild. 2577. Weight 1.06 gm. (16.3 gr.). (Fig. A, 2)

3. *Obv.* +ÆDELRAE/D REX AN*Rev.* +LEOFFINE ON LVNDE

Hild. 2743. Weight 1.08 gm. (16.6 gr.). (Fig. A, 3)

There are no specimens in Copenhagen¹ nor does Nordman list any in his catalogue of Finnish finds,² nor does the British Museum possess one. It seems that there is only one other published example, which was lot no. 827 in the V. J. E. Ryan sale of 1952 and is now in the present writer's collection:

4. *Obv.* +ÆDELRAE/D REX A*Rev.* +SÆPINE MON LVND

Hild. — Weight 0.90 gm. (13.8 gr.). (Fig. A, 4)

There is no reason to doubt that these coins are of English manufacture. Quite apart from the epigraphy, which is typical of the London mint late in the Last Small Cross issue and is not unlike that of the earliest (i.e. heaviest) coins of this mint of the Quatre-foil issue, the four coins are from different obverse dies and are by different moneymen. Had they been Scandinavian imitations, die-linking on a considerable scale could have been expected, not only within the type but also with imitations of other types and even with barbarous copies. While it is not improbable that reverse die-links with coins of the normal Last Small Cross type will be found, there are no links with the substantial group of Scandinavian imitations which have recently been studied³ and it is highly improbable that any of these coins can be die-linked into the Scandinavian series.

The moneymen themselves are of no assistance in confirming or denying the late dating of the variety, since Eadwold, Godric, and Leofwine were all active in the Last Small Cross issue and in the preceding and following issues, and Saewine is an otherwise unknown London moneymen of Æthelræd and is not known for Cnut either. Metrology, however, lends its support, because the recorded examples of this variety are among the lightest of the issue and it is extremely unlikely that they were struck on a weight standard of more than about 17 gr.

What the standard actually was, cannot be determined with precision. It is by no means certain that an Anglo Saxon standard fixed the average weight of an individual penny in grains and basic fractions of a grain (e.g. $\frac{1}{2}$ or $\frac{1}{4}$): indeed, it is more likely to have specified a convenient number of pence to be minted from a pound of (alloyed) silver of 5,400 gr.⁴ If, for example, 320 pence were to be coined from one pound, the average weight would be $16\frac{7}{8}$ gr. (1.09 gm.) and this is a possible standard for the variety under consideration: a multiple of 20 or 30 (or even 15) is more likely, bearing in mind the factors of 5,400, than one of 25 such as 325 pence to a pound, which represents an average weight of $16\frac{8}{13}$ gr. (1.08 gm.). Whatever it was, the lowering of the standard from its original value of 200 pence to a pound, although gradual, was very

¹ None is included in the forthcoming second volume of the Copenhagen *Sylloge*.

² *Anglo-Saxon Coins Found in Finland*, Helsingfors, 1921.

³ See C. S. S. Lyon, R. H. M. Dolley, and G. van der Meer, 'Some Scandinavian Coins in the Names of

Æthelræd, Cnut and Harthacnut attributed by Hildebrand to English Mints', *BNJ* xxx, p. 235.

⁴ Domesday, for example, differentiates in some cases between the *geld* payable when the penny was struck at 20 to the *ore* and when it was struck at 16 to the *ore*. There were 15 *ore* to the pound.

marked, and indicates a heavy overvaluation of the coinage if heavy and light coins of a particular issue were able to circulate freely side by side. In this connexion it may be significant that, from the more prolific mints, the earlier, heavy coins are distinctly scarce in the Scandinavian hoards in relation to the later, lighter coins, not only in the Last Small Cross issue but also in the Quatrefoil issue, when the reverse might have been expected on the basis that minting was generally most intense at the beginning of a new issue: but the development of this subject, important though it is for an understanding of the coinage of the period, is beyond the scope of this note.

If indeed Type A var. e does represent a search for a new type, it may be compared with the unique Last Small Cross coin in Bergen of the London moneyer Eadwerd which replaces the diademed hair by a pointed helmet (anticipating Cnut's type introduced c. 1023).¹ A change of type was in all probability due in 1015, but was not in fact introduced until 1017, due no doubt to the confused state of the country in the months before and after Æthelræd's death.² The suggested date for these coins, therefore, is 1015, a few months before the change of type should have been made.

II. A SECOND DIE-LINK BETWEEN THE MINTS OF 'GOTHABURH' AND EXETER

In their paper entitled 'The Mints "aet Gothabyrig" and "aet Sith(m)estebyrig"' (*BNJ* xxviii, pp. 270 ff.) Mr. R. H. M. Dolley and Mr. F. Elmore Jones described and illustrated all the known die-combinations of the 'Gothaburh' mint and drew attention to a die-link with Exeter in Cnut's Quatrefoil issue. Examination of the coins of Exeter of Æthelræd II's Last Small Cross issue in the Royal Coin Cabinet in Stockholm has revealed a further die-link between the two mints which underlines the close geographical relationship between them. The obverse die concerned is found associated with no fewer than three reverse dies of Exeter, two of the moneyer God and one of the moneyer Byrhstan, as well as with a 'Gothaburh' die of the moneyer Wulfmær:

EXETER

1. +ÆDELRÆD REX ANGL:/+GOD ON EAXCESTRE.
Hild. 530. Weight 1.29 gm. (19.9 gr.). (Fig. B, 1)
2. +GOD ON EAXCEASTRE. Hild. 529. Weight 1.20 gm. (18.5 gr.). (Fig. B, 2)
3. +BYRH·STAN ON EAX. Hild. 479. Weight 0.98 gm. (15.1 gr.). (Fig. B, 4)

'GOTHABURH'

4. +PVLFMÆR ON GVDA. Hild. 1132. Weight 1.24 gm. (19.1 gr.). (Fig. B, 3)

Examination of the coins suggests that those of God were struck first, then the Wulfmær coin, and finally the Byrhstan. The principal indications are firstly, the progressive rusting of the portion of the obverse die bearing the king's name, in particular the third and fourth letters, and secondly, the development of two tiny rust marks behind the ends of the diadem, just inside the inner circle. The apparent deterioration of the die in the second half of the inscription on Hild. 529 can only be explained by double-striking.

¹ Lyon, Dolley, and van der Meer, *op. cit.*, p. 237, n. 2.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 235-8.

That the latest use of the die was by the moneyer Byrhstan is supported by the light weight of Hild. 479. The other three coins were probably struck to a 20-grain standard, but this is most unlikely for the Byrhstan since all the evidence is that at this period it is unusual for the weight of a coin to deviate by more than two grains from the standard.



FIG. B.

Moreover, Hild. 477 and 478 are apparently earlier strikings from the same reverse die as 479 (though from two different obverse dies) and their weights are no more than 1.12 gm. and 1.06 gm. (17.2 and 16.3 gr.) respectively. (Fig. B, 5 and 6).

The conclusion to be drawn from this die-link is, presumably, that an obverse die in use at the Exeter mint was sent out for use at the nearby 'Gothaburh' mint and was subsequently returned to and reused at Exeter. It may perhaps be inferred that the 'Gothaburh' mint was only open for occasional minting as required: this particular occasion was probably during the middle period of the issue, since the initial minting in 1009 was undoubtedly on a 27-grain standard.

TWO ANGLO-SAXON NOTES

R. H. M. DOLLEY

A CNUT DIE-LINK BETWEEN THE MINTS OF SALISBURY AND WILTON

AT a time when obverse die-links between late Saxon mints are attracting a considerable degree of attention, it seems appropriate to put on record an example that seems completely uncontroversial in so far as one might have expected a moneyer who was working at two minor mints separated by only a few miles occasionally to have transferred an



1

2

FIG. 1.

obverse die from one establishment to the other. The die-link in question is between the mints of Wilton and of Salisbury (Old Sarum), and the moneyer is *Ælfred* who is recorded in the 1881 edition of Bror Emil Hildebrand's *Anglosachsiska Mynt* as having struck at Wilton one solitary coin of Cnut's last substantive issue (Hild. 3643). At Salisbury, on the other hand, *Ælfred* is on record for one coin of Cnut's first substantive issue (Hild. 3157), two of his last (Hild. 3158/9), and four of the two successive issues of Harold I (Hild. 839–43). The British Museum trays add nothing to this picture, but it may be noted that there attaches to *BMC* Cnut 559, a die-duplicate of Hild. Cnut 3643, the Wedmore hoard-provenance which is valuable in this context because it virtually compels acceptance of an English origin for the dies of Hild. Cnut 3158/9—*pace* Hildebrand from the same obverse die—and of Hild. Cnut 3643.

The critical die-link is illustrated by enlarged direct photographs in the accompanying text-block (Fig. 1), Hild. Cnut 3158, the coin of Salisbury, appearing on the left, and Hild. Cnut 3643, the coin of Wilton, on the right. The die-link is particularly clear, and the damage to the surface of the Salisbury coin offers a convincing explanation of Hildebrand's classification of the legend as 'b' (+CNVT RECX) instead of as 'b, ir. 19' (+CNVT TRECX). This is believed to be the first time that an obverse die-link between mints has been published in respect of coins of Cnut's last substantive issue, and it is to be hoped that this note will stimulate a systematic search for others in a type where there is no obvious break-down into schools of die-cutting. It is hard, though, to read any deep significance into this particular instance. As far as can be judged the die was used with the two reverses at Salisbury before Wilton, but one should be very reluctant to suppose the *Ælfred* was motivated by anything more than personal convenience. Granted that Old Sarum was more secure than Wilton, there is not a scrap of evidence that Harold's reign was accompanied by the disturbances that would have made security a decisive factor when a moneyer was planning his operations. Nor is there any reason to suppose that the Old Sarum site was inconvenient for minting purposes in the way that the sites at Cadbury and Cissbury undoubtedly were, and in the event both Salisbury and Wilton continued to flourish as mints until the beginning of the Plantagenet period. It only remains for the author to express his thanks to Dr. N. L. Rasmussen and Bibliotekarie L. O. Lagerquist for the enlarged photographs that illustrate this note.

A PROBABLE REATTRIBUTION FROM LINCOLN TO LANGPORT

On p. 401 of the 1881 edition of Bror Emil Hildebrand's *Anglosachsiska mynt* there are described as no. 82 a Jewel Cross penny of Harthacnut with right-facing bust of which the reverse legend is read:

+ *ÆGELPINE* . . LINC

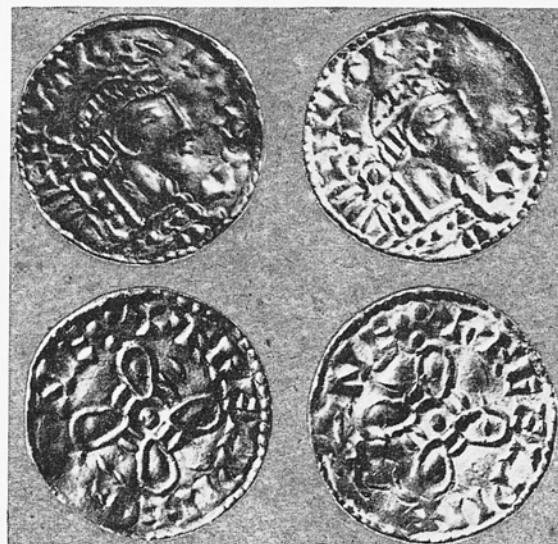
and as no. 83 a cut halfpenny of the Arm-and-Sceptre issue of the same king with reverse legend:

. . . . PINE ON LI . .

Of no. 82 it is remarked that the reverse legend is in part indistinct, while no. 83 is assigned provisionally to *Ægelwine* on the strength of no. 82. In the 1932 edition of *English Coins* G. C. Brooke for once has failed to emulate Hildebrand's caution, and *Ægelwine* is given as a Lincoln moneyer of Harthacnut without reserve. The purpose of this note is to suggest that the attribution is one that can no longer be maintained.

To take first Hild. Harthacnut 83. That it is a coin of Lincoln need not be disputed, and Mrs. Ulla Westermark has been kind enough to confirm that the incomplete mint-signature does in fact read LI . . . What is to be questioned is the assumption that the missing prototheme is *Ægel-*. In the first place *-wine* is one of the commonest of all deuterothemes where the names of eleventh-century English moneyers are concerned. The Stockholm cut halfpenny is to be dated to the period 1040–2, and the numismatist can point to a *Leofwine* who was active at Lincoln in the period 1035–40 [Hild. Harol. 398, 399, 404–6, 409 (?), 415, 416, &c.] and again in the period 1042–8 [Hild. Edw. Conf. 348–55 &c.]. Using 'Cnut' dies he was also active in the period 1040–2 [Hild. 'Cnut'

1624-8]. Of his fourteen colleagues who are recorded in Hildebrand as striking *c.* 1035-40 and *c.* 1042-8, only Manna and Swafa are not there listed as moneymen of the intervening Arm-and-Sceptre issue, while five are known with both 'Cnut' and 'Harthacnut' obverses. It is almost certain, then, that Hild. Harthacnut 83 is a coin of the moneymen Leofwine, and especially if it can once be shown that Hild. Harthacnut 82 has nothing whatever to do with the Lincoln mint.



Hild. 82.

Hild. 11.

FIG. 2.

As Fig. 2 there are illustrated side by side Hild. Harthacnut 82 and Hild. Harthacnut 11, a coin of the moneymen *Æ*gelwine attributed by Hildebrand to Canterbury. It will be seen at once that they are die-duplicates, and that the second letter of the mint-signature is unquestionably an 'A'. This being so there is no possibility whatever that the mint of the coins could be Lincoln, and forthwith we may expunge the name of *Æ*gelwine from the roll of the late Saxon moneymen of the Lincoln mint—the *Æ*lwine who strikes there *c.* 1049 (cf. Hild. Edw. Conf. 286 and 287) is clearly to be equated with *Æ*lfwine (cf. Hild. Edw. Conf. 283), the spelling betraying dissimilation of medial 'f' of a kind well attested by the coins of this period.

There remains the question of the mint to which Hild. Harthacnut 11 and 82 should be assigned. The first letter of the mint-signature is clear on none of the specimens. On Hild. Harthacnut 11 it could be a square 'c', but, even if it were, Hildebrand's Canterbury attribution founders. Not only is *Æ*gelwine (*Æ*thelwine) completely unattested as a Canterbury moneymen of the late Saxon kings—we may note that he is firmly excluded by Brooke from the canon—but the spelling CAN would have been impossible for Canterbury at this period when the digraph is invariable, even if CANE had not been utterly unacceptable on other grounds. It is noteworthy, though, that on Hild. Harthacnut 82 the initial letter has already been read as 'L', and there can be little doubt that this in

fact is the correct reading. Equally the fourth letter of the mint-signature appears as an 'E' and not a square 'c'. Almost certainly, therefore, the mint-signature of the three coins under discussion is to be reconstructed LANE.

To the best of the writer's knowledge LANE is unattested as a mint-signature in the late Saxon period, but there is one obvious emendation. As is well known, square 'E' and square 'G' were often confused by the engravers, and the suggestion of this note is that LANE be emended LANG, and that the coins under discussion be given to Langport—in view of the rarity of coins of this mint it should be stressed that only one pair of dies is involved. Langport is not recorded in Hildebrand as a Harthacnut mint for the period *c.* 1035–7, but it is possible to demonstrate that the mint was striking at that very period and that the moneyer was an *Æ*gelwine. Hild. Harold 323 is an undoubted Langport coin of the very same issue with mint-signature LA(N)G, and in Cnut's last type, the issue immediately preceding the joint issue of Harold and Harthacnut, there is Lockett 744 with the reverse legend reading unequivocally +*Æ*GELPINE ON LAN. To these coins we may add Hild. Edw. Conf. 3 with mint-signature LA(N)GEPOR and *BMC* Edw. Conf. 609 with mint-signature LANGP, and if further proof were needed that an *Æ*gelwine was striking in east Somerset at the material time one would have only to cite the pattern of *Æ*gelwine coins with the mint-signatures of Ilchester, Bath, and Bristol. There is, too, some evidence that Langport and Ilchester were frequented by the same moneyers—it is, for example, inconceivable that the Dunberd at Langport, a *hapax* *c.* 1041 (Hild. Harthacnut 72), is not the same man as the 'Durberd' at Ilchester, a *hapax* *c.* 1043 (Hild. Edw. Conf. 174). In the Jewel Cross issue itself, moreover, we find coins of Harold by *Æ*gelwine with the impeccable mint-signature GIFE and LA(N)G (Hild. 233 and 323 respectively), and on this telling the attribution of Hild. Harthacnut 11, 82, and 83 to Langport (LANG) provides the perfect foil to Hild. Harthacnut 44 (GIFE).

If the above arguments should be found conclusive the following emendations are necessary where the 1881 edition of *Anglosachsiska mynt* are concerned:

- p. 397 No. 11 The mint is Langport (reads LANE for LANG)
- p. 401 No. 82 The mint is Langport (reads LANE for LANG)
- No. 83 The moneyer is probably Leofwine.

On p. 72 of G. C. Brooke's *English Coins* the appropriate entry should begin:

LANGPORT *Aegelwine* (Cn to Ed)

and Eilwine should be deleted as being no more than a variant spelling, and on p. 73 *Æ*gelwine should be removed from the list of Lincoln moneyers. It only remains for the writer once again to express to the authorities of the Royal Swedish Coin Cabinet his best thanks for the enlarged direct photographs that illustrate this note.

MEDIEVAL MINTING TECHNIQUES

D. SELLWOOD, B.Sc.(ENG.), A.M.I.MECH.E.

THE role of the sciences in archaeology has, of late, become increasingly important and the method of the scientist—repeatable experiment leading to general hypothesis—is applied with great success to the unsolved problems of antiquity. This paper is concerned with some practical investigations into the possible techniques employed by medieval mint personnel in the production of what seems to us to be one of the basic, if inconvenient, essentials of civilized life—coined money.



FIG. 1.

Coins were, in fact, the first metal objects which were required in such large numbers that human ingenuity must constantly have been directed to finding easier ways of making them. This never-ending conflict between efficiency and tradition is nowadays graced by the title of 'Work-Study', but it is as old as the primeval flint artefact. The earliest coins are thought to have been made in Ionia about 650 B.C.¹ and within a century or so their use was common to all the Greek-speaking peoples living round the Mediterranean. Steel, as opposed to wrought iron, was first produced in Egypt in any quantity about 800 B.C.,² and although knowledge of the way it was made must have reached Ionia from Anatolia (the source of ore and technique) at an even earlier date, it seems that bronze was the material from which the original coin dies were manufactured.³ There is in Sofia an iron die for a stater of Philip III of Macedon,⁴ but even by Roman times, to judge from surviving specimens, iron and steel were still not on an equal footing with bronze; it should be borne in mind, though, that the former are much more likely to corrode away completely and so be absent from excavated sites.

¹ E. S. G. Robinson, 'The Coins from the Ephesian Artemision Reconsidered', *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, lxxi, pp. 156-67.

² R. J. Forbes, *Metallurgy in Antiquity*, p. 412.

³ C. C. Vermeule, *Ancient Dies and Coining Methods*. Cyzicus die on p. 10, before 400 B.C.

⁴ C. C. Vermeule, *op. cit.*, p. 12, die no. 6.

It might be supposed that the survival rate would increase as we come to the period under discussion, the centuries either side of A.D. 1000. Unfortunately there appear to be no extant dies from the Anglo-Saxon period and not until Plantagenet times is there any appreciable number on which to base our theories. It is, of course, not surprising that we have so few dies from antiquity, since the authorities would, in the normal course of events, have taken steps to ensure that they were destroyed (and the metal reused?) once their useful life was over. Such is the force of this argument that many scholars consider that all surviving specimens emanate from the workshops of forgers or other unofficial sources. This may well be true, but it is also probable that counterfeiters would have used the current official techniques and may often have been mint craftsmen doing 'part-time' work on their own account. The lack of dies may also point to another aspect of what we know to have been the very efficient civil administration of Saxon England—it tidied up better than its predecessors. Anyway, for the centuries before the Norman Conquest we must glean what information we can from the coins themselves.

Mr. Philip Grierson has commented¹ on two facts of immediate importance; firstly, that in an annealed state, medium carbon steels can be 'worked' with astonishing ease and, secondly, that for medieval coins the design in general and the lettering in particular can be obtained by a very small number of different punches. Until the middle of the last century steels were produced by what is known as the cementation process. A piece of wrought iron, which contains less than about 0.05 per cent. carbon, is surrounded by carbonaceous material, such as charcoal, and placed in an airtight box. It is now maintained at a temperature of the order of 800° C. and the carbon will diffuse from the surrounding material into the surface layers of the wrought iron—the box being airtight neither the carbon nor the iron can combine with the oxygen from the air as they would normally do at this temperature. The percentage of carbon in the surface layer and the depth to which it penetrates depend upon the actual temperature and the time of 'soak'. The carbon would then usually be redistributed throughout the remaining material by hammering out flat, doubling over and similar 'working' of the metal, so that the average carbon content of the whole would be of the order of 0.4 per cent., giving a medium-carbon steel. This could then be subjected to the normal processes of quench-hardening and tempering.

In the case of die-making, however, it would, I think be advantageous not to carry out the final 'working'. This would leave the central core as relatively soft but fracture-resistant wrought iron while, after engraving or punching, the surface layers with their higher carbon content could be hardened; although thus more brittle, the surface would be backed up by the wrought-iron core. Even by using a very low-carbon steel a die could be made quite capable of satisfactory performance when used to strike coins of the nearly pure and relatively soft silver of the period under discussion. The punches themselves scarcely present more difficulty although they would be made from a steel of a higher carbon content.

With the assistance of a pair of small files, a grinding wheel, and a gas-ring, I made the set of punches and graving tool, shown in Fig. 2, in rather less than an hour. With these I prepared the two dies shown in Fig. 3. The surfaces of these had been turned flat, but the actual marking out, punching, and engraving took me, with next to no previous practice, 25 minutes for the obverse die and 15 minutes for the reverse. In order to add,

¹ P. Grierson, in *History of Technology*, ii, pp. 485 ff.

as Gilbert said, 'verisimilitude to an otherwise bald and unconvincing narrative', I tried to imitate the designs of one of Edward the Confessor's coins—the 'Facing Bust' type, Brooke 9. It can be judged from Fig. 1 how successful was my attempt. The obverse die was usually the lower one in practice. This was because it was more difficult to engrave and it would be the one to be protected from the worst effects of the shock waves by the intervening layer of soft silver.

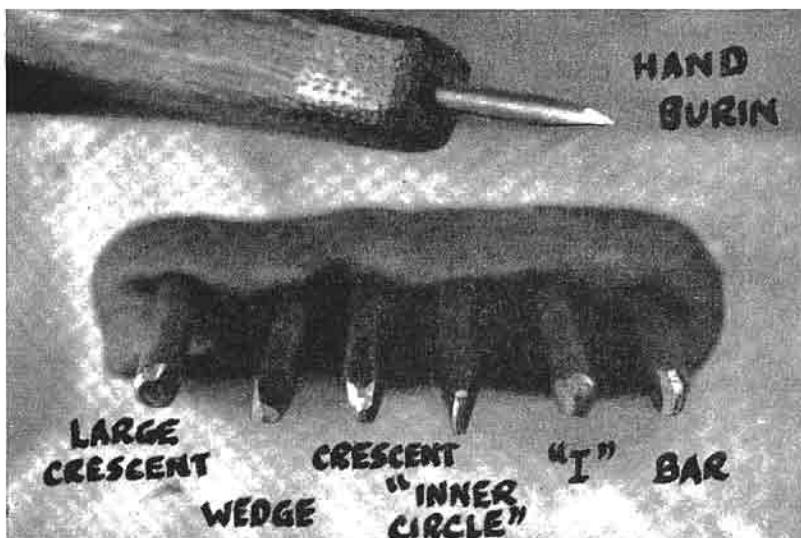


FIG. 2.

The die axes on later Anglo-Saxon coins are, with few exceptions, at 0° , 90° , 180° , or 270° . The reason for the alignment must lie with the special technique of minting employed. The most obvious way of achieving it is by having the shanks of both upper and lower dies of square section as are those shown in Fig. 3. A small box of thinner sheet metal may then be attached to the upper die so that it projects slightly beyond the die's working face and thus positions and aligns the two dies when they are brought together prior to striking. If, as seems possible, the upper die was held in tongs during striking (to minimize the loss of craftsmen's fingers) an alternative method suggests itself. This is to have each arm of the tongs ending in two sides of a square with the actual die perhaps fixed to one of them.

The standards of measurement at any time before the last century were extremely vague. In the time of Edward III an inch was three barley corns laid end to end. We might suppose that in the matter of the weight of precious metals some more strict control was exercised. For gold no doubt it was. The Trial of the Pyx and its hypothetical predecessors, however, imply that only the *average* weight of silver coins was, within fairly wide limits, considered important. Inspection of any particular series of late Anglo-Saxon coins shows that the diameter is more or less constant and hence the weight will vary directly as the thickness. With the limited possibilities of measurement indicated above, how was the correct thickness attained? I suggest that a mass of silver of a known and adjusted weight was beaten out flat until it occupied a certain, probably circular,

area. Provided the area is not too large, it is not difficult to ensure that the thickness is sufficiently uniform over the whole area, whose magnitude for any particular required thickness could simply be found by trial and error.

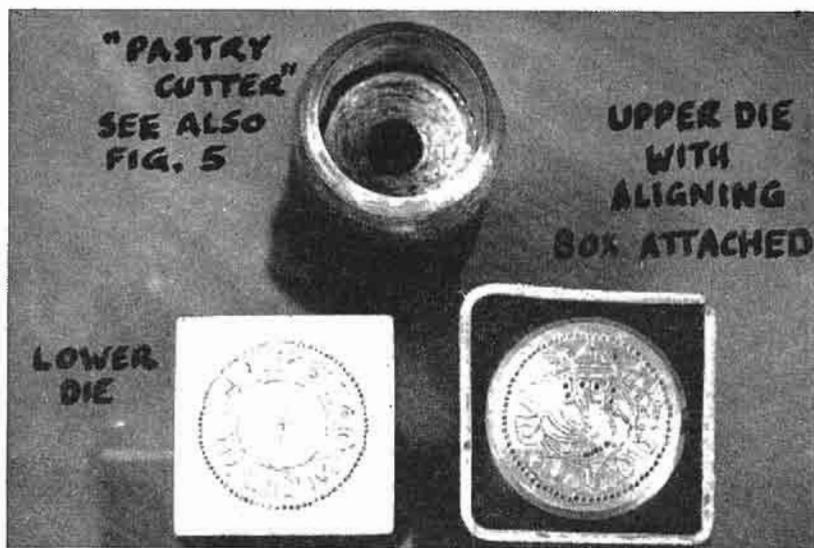


FIG. 3.



FIG. 4.

In Fig. 4 I show two Confessor coins of the type I tried to imitate. They are die duplicates and the diameter of both is $1/32$ inch less than what was, perhaps, a nominal dimension of $\frac{3}{4}$ inch (1063 was a bad year for barley corns!). Working on a basis of 21 grains to a penny, I tried beating out a lump of silver to the area to give the correct thickness for a coin diameter of $\frac{3}{4}$ inch. From this sheet I cut, by a method described later, three blanks $\frac{3}{4}$ inch diameter whose weights were 21.5, 20.7, and 19.4 gr. These are well within the variation found in coins of the time, thus showing that my method of obtaining the right thickness is feasible.

Such illustrations as we have, that are concerned with contemporary coining techniques, imply the use of a pair of shears.¹ A little time spent with a modern pair on a piece of silver sheet convinced me that the very regular circumference of late Anglo-Saxon coins could not satisfactorily be produced by using shears. I think that they were used for cutting roughly *square* blanks out of the sheet of prepared thickness. These blanks were somewhat in excess of the final flan diameter in their dimensions.

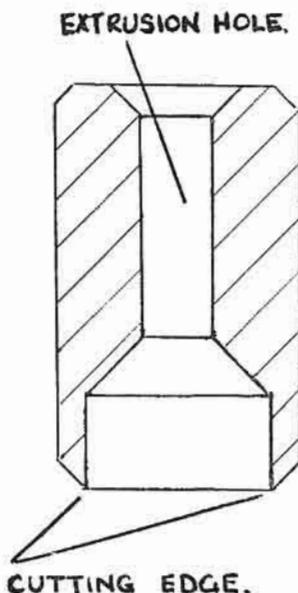


FIG. 5.

My original thoughts on the problem were that the flan was next cut from the sheet by means of a sort of circular 'pastry-cutter' (Fig. 5). This had been mentioned to me by Mr. Dolley as also the idea of Mr. B. H. I. H. Stewart. I now believe that some such sort of tool was, indeed, used, but not at this stage.

We have, then, the dies which can be aligned more or less directly above one another, and a blank of the correct thickness but otherwise oversize. The latter fact means that much less care need be taken in putting the flan on the lower die, since its position can vary quite a lot and still receive the full impressions of both dies. Mr. Grierson says² that the actual striking could be done by a man in a standing or sitting position holding the die in one hand and hitting with the other. I found that, using a 2½-lb. hammer and only one blow, a reasonable impression of the face of each die could be obtained on the blank. For greater speed of production it might be that one man held the die while another wielded the hammer, but this is not absolutely necessary.

The final stage is now reached. This is the use of the 'pastry-cutter' to separate the correct-diameter coin from its oversize blank. The cutter is lined up as nearly as may be on the circumference of the design of one of the struck faces (usually the obverse) of

¹ P. Grierson, *op. cit.*, p. 491, illustration. The workman appears to be cutting round blanks.

² P. Grierson, *op. cit.*, p. 490.

the flan, which is resting on a piece of hard wood, and the cutter is struck with a 2½-lb. hammer. Again I found that one blow is sufficient for the purpose of punching out. The small central hole in the cutter permits the insertion of a rod or stick to free the coin. Perhaps two or three coins were cut out before being extruded and the greater force required if the coins were jammed would account for the slightly buckled appearance of some otherwise unworn coins—they would certainly not have emerged buckled from between the dies.

I have now to justify this sequence of operations. As far as the engraving of the dies is concerned I am following the theories of Mr. Grierson in the number of punches required and I hope that the illustrations of my resultant imitation penny shows it to be not too unlike the original. The lead impression of the Alfred die in the British Museum shows that, in his time, at any rate, dies were square in cross-section. I have no corroborative evidence for the idea of beating out the lump of silver of a given weight to cover a given area, but I cannot think of a more simple way of getting the necessary thickness. There are, to my knowledge, no pre-Conquest English coins surviving with circular designs on square flans. That there are not is merely another example of the great efficiency of the Anglo-Saxon mints, because we do have them from the much more primitive contemporary Scandinavian ones. Taking as examples lots 479, 480, and 481 from the Lockett sale no. v, the actual weights of these rectangular flans multiplied by the ratio of the area of the circular designs to that of total flan area give in each case an approximate weight for the hypothetical round coin of 33 gr.—high, but not, I think impossibly so for these crude productions which were generally over-weight.¹ Judging by these and other square-flan coins from the same catalogue, they were all left at this incomplete stage because part of the circular design was off the blank, or they were in some other way mis-struck, rendering them useless for the application of the final cutting-out operation. They should have been melted down again but remain to point out the contrast between some long-forgotten Swede's lackadaisical attitude to his responsibilities and the efficiency of his twentieth-century countrymen.

Reference to Fig. 6, enlargements of part of the two die-identical coins already mentioned, together with views on the edge of the coins at the same places, is necessary to follow the remainder of my argument. On the 'off-centre' coin there appears to be a circumferential line joining the middles of the letters, which are partially off the flan; this line is not present on the other, centrally struck coin and so, presumably, was not on the die, either. If the cutting-out operation had come first, then the lettering would have produced bumps or burrs on the *edge* of the coin, instead of which the burr is seen to be present on the surface which had been in contact with the die. This I think proves that the coins were struck first on the oversize flans and cut out afterwards to exact dimensions. The fact that on one of the genuine coins the reverse die is off centre indicates that there was some considerable play in the box or whatever it was that was used to align the dies.

When I read this paper, the use of the 'pastry-cutter' was the part of my argument which a good many of my audience boggled at accepting. However, as I stated earlier, I found that even after a good many trials with shears on silver or softer lead sheet, I could produce nothing so nearly circular as most Anglo-Saxon coins appear to be. In addition, this process took me much longer than the single blow 'pastry-cutter' did.

¹ R. H. M. Dolley and D. M. Metcalf, *Anglo-Saxon Coins*, p. 158.

My cutter is, no doubt, at once more truly circular and more sharp than those I postulate for my moneyer's mate, who would probably have had to make his by hand rather than, as I did, on a lathe. This, I think, accounts for the slightly turned-up edge on the obverse and more pronouncedly turned-down edge on the reverse of true coins. The turned down reverse edge only is present on the coin I cut out.

The two genuine coins illustrated appear, in fact, to have been separated from the square flan by the *same* cutter. A good many small marks on the edge correspond and such slight discrepancies as there are may be attributed to the cutter having been

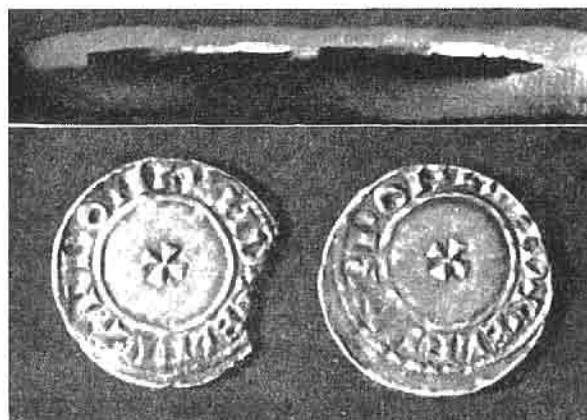


FIG. 6.

resharpened in between being used for the two coins. I have observed similar agreement on die-identical coins of Steyning Mint of the Confessor's reign.

Many later coins do not exhibit the 'pastry-cutter' sheared-off edge. Edwardian pennies and groats, for example, have a much more rounded edge appearance and must have been produced quite differently. The blanks for these may have been obtained by pouring the molten silver through a metal sieve with holes of the appropriate size, the drops thus produced falling directly into water where they solidified as odd shapes but of fairly uniform weight. They were then ready for use between the dies without further adjustment than that of beating flat on a plane surface. Tylecote¹ discounts the possibility of pouring direct into water without the sieve, a commonly advanced hypothesis, on the grounds that only small size (4 gr.) coins could be produced this way.

A more attractive method involves the use of a 'draw-plate'.² This contains circular holes through which thick rods of silver are pulled reducing their diameter to some specific dimension. From this rod are then cut exact lengths by means of a chisel. These lengths are then finally beaten out flat into the requisite thin flans. Not having a 'draw-plate' I drilled a $\frac{1}{4}$ -inch diameter hole in a steel block and poured molten silver into this, thus effectively obtaining a $\frac{1}{4}$ -inch diameter rod. On this I scratched marks at equal

¹ R. F. Tylecote, *Metallurgy in Archaeology*, p. 164.

² *History of Technology*, ii, p. 481, Use of 'draw-plate' in Persia in 5th century B.C.

intervals with dividers and cut off lengths with a chisel. The first three weighed 18.4, 18.9, and 19.9 gr. This method then appears satisfactory for producing penny blanks particularly since only one intermediate annealing was necessary when beating the flan out to the necessary diameter. On the other hand, I tried the method with $\frac{1}{2}$ -inch diameter rod and the first three lengths (which I tried to make equal) weighed 61.0, 68.4, and 77.3 gr.—in fact the deformation of the bar during cutting with the chisel rendered the method very inaccurate and unsuitable for groat blanks. For these I tried yet another method, based on the idea of the Ancient British clay moulds. I drilled flat-bottomed holes in a piece of cast iron so that each hole was the same depth. This could have been produced in a clay mould by a hemispherical projection from a flat surface so that the depth of each impression was the same. After little practice I found that I could pour very accurately into ten such depressions within the limits of 56 gr. to 64 gr. for eight out of ten. These 'buttons' again, I found, could be beaten out flat with only one intermediate annealing. The fact that on medieval groats the flans were so frequently of insufficient size for the dies merely shows that the workmen skimped their task of beating out the flans before striking. Newman¹ states that 'de Turnemire . . . introduced in 1280 the casting of square-sectioned bars from which transverse slices of the thickness of the intended coins were cut. These pieces were forged into the round, pickled in vegetable juices, and then hammered between an upper die and lower die'. It is just as easy to cast circular as square section rods and it would be quite impossible to cut, by chisel, blanks of the thickness of medieval groats from square section bar and then hold them on edge, to forge them round and maintain the original thickness. In fact many coins of the period show slight radial edge cracks consonant with the blank having been hammered out flat with insufficient intermediate annealing.

I shall now consider the relevance of these theories to some other aspects of Anglo-Saxon numismatics. Messrs. Dolley and Metcalf have ably demonstrated² that commencing in the reign of Edgar the coin types were altered initially at six- and subsequently at three-year intervals, all current coin being called in and restruck. These drastic change-overs might be thought to have entailed bursts of almost frenetic activity both by engravers and moneyers. Using the methods outlined above it can be seen that one engraver could produce about four dies per hour or thirty-two in an eight-hour day. Thus, in an emergency, each of 150 moneyers could be given his initial issue of one pair of dies by *one man* working steadily for ten days. The actual speed of striking is more problematical. A team of three (blank placer and remover, die holder, hammerman) could probably turn out a coin every five seconds. The other operations seem to me more likely to impose a limit on the production rate.

The number of coins which could be made from one die is again difficult to estimate. I am currently engaged on some experiments into the probable life of ancient Greek bronze dies. I have found that each coin requires two blows of a $2\frac{1}{2}$ -lb. hammer to force the metal into the very much greater intaglio of the die. So far I have been using only one obverse die and have made 9,000 coins without the die showing any really big flaw. Making allowance for the fact that the flans of medieval coins are much thinner but that the steel used was somewhat stronger than the Greeks' bronze, I should suppose that 10,000 coins per die would be a not unreasonable minimum.

There can be very few contributions to the study today of Anglo-Saxon numismatics

¹ W. A. C. Newman, *British Coinage*, R. Inst. of Chemistry.

² Op. cit., pp. 136 ff.

in which Mr. R. H. M. Dolley has not played some part. I should like gratefully to acknowledge here the fact that he encouraged me to commence this investigation and has shown practical interest at all stages of it. I have also to thank Dr. J. R. I. Hepburn, Principal of Kingston College of Technology, and Mr. K. J. Tolley, Head of the Engineering Department there, for permission to carry out experiments in the college laboratories. Messrs. J. and C. W. Baker have kindly assisted me in the preparation of the specimens and the photographs.

FOUR ANGLO-SAXON, NORMAN, AND PLANTAGENET NOTES

F. ELMORE JONES

THE MYSTERIOUS MINT OF 'DERNT'

THESE remarks follow up and are complementary to a little article by Mr. R. H. M. Dolley entitled 'A New Late Saxon Mint in Suffolk' which appeared in *Spink's Numismatic Circular* for November 1960. Briefly to recapitulate, that article suggested the general area in which there should be sought the mint of some coins of Edward the Confessor's fourth substantive issue (Brooke type 3) which are all from one reverse die which reads +PVLGARODYR:—I would differ from Mr. Dolley in interpreting the second letter of the mint-signature as an 'I' and not a 'Y', though Mr. Dolley remains unconvinced. In the article in question the mint is located with virtual certainty as being Suffolk and in the general area of Ipswich. The *British Museum Catalogue* attribution to Dereham in Norfolk, one which never seemed quite convincing, now appears to be quite out of the question, for Mr. Dolley was able to clinch his case by two remarkable discoveries. The first of these is the existence of an obverse die-link with the mint of Ipswich, *BMC* 202 being from the same obverse die as *BMC* 438, a coin of the Ipswich moneyer Edwig. The second concerns the provenance. It is now virtually certain that all the known specimens from the DIR reverse die come from the Thwaite hoard of 1832 (Thompson *Inventory* 69 and 360) a find-spot which is in Suffolk some fifteen miles north of Ipswich.

The purpose of this note is to record in detail some other coins which in Mr. Dolley's words 'could be of the same mint', and I hope to show that there exist good grounds, again provided by the mint of Ipswich which in this context possibly furnishes our sole numismatic evidence, for the claim that DIR and DERNT represent one and the same place. The coins in question, as few as three in number, are of the same reign and chronologically are not far removed from the DIR coins. One is of the Confessor's sixth substantive issue, and two of his eighth. The absence of the seventh issue (*BMC* type IX) is not to be wondered at, as the type is surprisingly rare where East Anglian mints are concerned. The coins certainly do exist but in the *British Museum Catalogue*, for example, not one single specimen is recorded from the mints of Norwich, Thetford, Ipswich, and Bury St. Edmunds.

The three DERNT coins are illustrated in the text-block on the next page, and details are as follows:

1. Brooke type 6 = *BMC* VII (Pointed Helmet)
Obv. +EDPER/DREX Cross sceptre with two pellets on shaft.
Rev. +PVLFSIE ONDERNT:
In Mr. A. H. F. Baldwin's collection.
2. Brooke type 8 = *BMC* XI (Hammer Cross)
Obv. +EADPARD/RD REX
Rev. +PVLFSIE ON DERNE
In the collection of the writer.

3. Same type and same obverse die.

Rev. + PVLFSIE ON DERNT

In the collection of the writer.

Provenances and earlier attributions are: Coin 1, published and illustrated here through the courtesy of Mr. Baldwin, is from the Grantley Sale (lot 1203) and in the



FIG. 1.

sale catalogue was attributed to 'Darenth' albeit with a query. Coin 2 is from the Lockett Sale (lot 849) and formerly belonged to Sir John Evans. It is from the City find, and its first owner read the mint-signature as PERHE (cf. *NC*, 1885, p. 269, foot of page) and assigned it to Wareham. This attribution was accepted by Brooke, and followed in the Lockett sale catalogue. Coin 3 is without pedigree and unpublished.

Consequently this is the first time that there has been noticed the link between DERNT and DERNE, and indeed this is the first time that the unequivocal DERNE on coin 2 has been read as such. No reference to either reading will be found in the *British Museum Catalogue*, in Brooke's *English Coins*, or in Hildebrand's *Anglosachsiska Mynt*, nor is there any reference in P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton's 'Uncertain Anglo-Saxon Mints and some New Attributions' in the 1909 *British Numismatic Journal*.

It is to be remarked at once that Wulfseige, the moneyer of the three coins now

published, is also an Ipswich moneyer at just this period. Numismatically, too, the name is a rare one on coins of the issues concerned. The Ipswich Wulfsige is recorded in the *British Museum Catalogue* for the fourth substantive issue of the Confessor (*BMC* type II—the type in which Wulfgar is known for the mint of DIR), and Ipswich coins of his are also known of the fifth and sixth substantive issues, so that in the latter (*BMC* type VII) there is an overlapping with the Wulfsige coin of DERNT. No coin of a Wulfsige at either mint is as yet recorded in the seventh issue (*BMC* type IX already noted as so surprisingly rare where East Anglia is concerned), and in the eighth issue there are two coins of DERNT—from two reverse dies—and *no* coin of Ipswich. In the sixth issue, though, Wulfsige coins of Ipswich are not particularly rare. Two from different dies are in my own cabinet, and there is a third in the British Museum. It is all the more disappointing, therefore, that I am not able to record a die-link between Ipswich and Mr. Baldwin's unique coin of DERNT, and this despite the fact that I have checked the obverse die of the latter against every Ipswich coin of the type which is known to me.

A die-link of this kind would of course clinch my case as conclusively as it clinched the association between Ipswich and DIR. However, whether or not this further link will be found to exist, I feel that the indirect evidence for the identification of DIR, DERNE, and DERNT as mint-signatures of one and the same mint is so strong that it may be left to speak for itself. As to where DERNT is to be located on the map of Suffolk I am not qualified to express any opinion, nor can I pronounce on the claims of Darsham and Darnford, to take the two most obvious candidates. The mystery is one which may never permit a certain solution, but DERNT is by no means the only Anglo-Saxon mint which cannot as yet be marked in on a numismatic map, and even to have been able to determine its *general* area may be thought to represent a not insignificant advance.

POSTSCRIPT

Since these notes were written Mr. C. S. S. Lyon has drawn my attention to an Æthelræd II Last Small Cross coin (Hild. 689) with reverse legend +EADRICMON DERP which there is reason to think may likewise emanate from East Anglia. For my part I am not satisfied that this is yet another coin from the DIR/DERNT mint—Mr. Lyon, incidentally, has found this obverse die used at Cambridge, London, and Dover (!)—but the query exists, and the problem is one which Mr. Lyon will discuss in the course of a forthcoming paper. On the question of Darsham, Mr. Dolley has pointed out to me that the modern village is only four miles from Blythburgh where Domesday records a *cambium*. Thwaite, too, is almost equidistant from Darsham and from Ipswich.

TWO UNPUBLISHED PENNIES OF WILLIAM II

The readings in conventional transliteration of these two coins, both of *BMC* type III of William Rufus, are as follows:

1. *Obv.* ——ILL——RE
- Rev.* +SE[P]ORD——IIIL

In the collection of the writer.

The moneyer is undoubtedly Seward, and the attribution to Malmesbury is discussed below.

We may note the wide spacing of the reverse legend—the full reading could as well be ON MAL OR ONMAL OR even ONMIL.

2. *Oby.* +PILLELM RE

Rev. +EDPORD ON SIII

In the collection of the writer.

The moneyer is undoubtedly Edword, and the attribution to Southwark is discussed below.

Again we may note the widely spaced lettering which leaves insufficient room for the initial cross and barely sufficient for the downstroke of the third letter of the mint-signature.



FIG. 2.

The first of the two coins gives us a new type for this very rare mint, and, on the present evidence, this is the last coin which is known for the Malmesbury mint—if, that is, we except the unique 'Baronial' piece from Stephen's reign which is now in the British Museum (ex 1918 Roth Sale, lot 137) and which has been tentatively assigned to Henry of Anjou. Seward, it will be remembered, is a well-attested Malmesbury moneyer in the three preceding issues, the *Paxs* type of William I and the first two types of William II. Under Rufus, at any rate, the mint appears to have been reduced to 'one-moneyer' status. Other than at Malmesbury, Seward (and then as Siword) is known for William II only at Colchester, a mint which could not possibly fit the -HIL signature which is so clearly visible on the coin.

In the 1906 *British Numismatic Journal*, L. A. Lawrence has illustrated a number of

well-known forgeries of Norman pennies. Prominent as nos. 35 and 36 on pl. ii of that paper are two which both purport to be coins of this very type, mint, and moneyer, the mint-signature in both cases being the significantly fuller MALME. Although the coins are demonstrably false, the work of these forgeries is quite plausible, and specimens continue to appear on the market from time to time. For the exact legend of these forgeries there is still no prototype, but it is interesting that we can at last be certain that the type was in fact struck at Malmesbury, a genuine coin of the mint and moneyer having now appeared and proving to be from dies very different from those employed by the unknown forger.

The second of the two coins can be found illustrated in the 1954 H. A. Parsons sale catalogue (lot 233), and so may not be thought unpublished in the strict sense of the word. The moneyer, however, is quite unpublished for the mint of Southwark to which it is now attributed. Parsons' own attribution was to Guildford and resulted from a misreading, of a kind by no means uncommon in this type, which interpreted as a G the very peculiarly formed s. The reverse die is the same as that of two coins in the British Museum. The first is *BMC* 229, the only 'Uncertain Mint' coin of the type in the *British Museum Catalogue*, of which the reverse legend was quite correctly read by Brooke as +EDPORDON—II. The second is a recent acquisition from the Lockett cabinet (lot 2899). In the sale catalogue, due to a similar misreading of s as G and to a misinterpretation of the moneyer's name, the coin in question was assigned to Ilchester. My coin and the two in the British Museum, then, are all from one and the same reverse die, but from different obverse dies; none of these three obverse dies links into the three other Southwark coins of the type in the National Collection. These are by three moneymen, Aldred, Lifwine, and Wulgar, and each has its own obverse die. Despite the absence of any link between the three obverse dies now recorded for Edword and those recorded for Aldred, Lifwine, and Wulgar, Mr. Dolley fully endorses my attribution of the three coins concerned to the Southwark mint (*not* Sudbury), and in the British Museum trays both the 'Ilchester' coin ex Lockett and the 'Uncertain Mint' *BMC* 229 now appear under Southwark. For my part I am satisfied that the possible alternative attribution to Sudbury for which I was responsible in the Parsons sale catalogue had nothing to commend it beyond the fact that the abbreviated mint-signature could in theory indicate either mint. Wulfric, however, is an undoubted Sudbury moneyer throughout the reign, and all the evidence is that Sudbury was a 'one-moneyer' mint throughout the Norman period—if not indeed throughout its existence. Southwark, on the other hand, was definitely a 'multiple-moneyer' mint, and never more so than under William II. It is not surprising, therefore, that the complement of three moneymen recorded for the type in the *British Museum Catalogue* should now be increased to five. As well as Edword there should be added Aldred now in the British Museum ex Lockett (lot 3886).

In conclusion it should be observed that in my opinion the foregoing in no way affects the question of the attribution of the unique coin of Stephen type VII which is now in the British Museum ex Lockett (lot 1147) and which is by the moneyer Edward. Here the mint-signature is once again the ambiguous SVD. Edward, however, is a common personal name, and *BMC* type III of William II and type VII of Stephen are separated by close on fifty years. Further Southwark is not known as a mint of Stephen type VII whereas Sudbury is. On balance, therefore, I still favour an attribution to the Suffolk mint for that particular coin.

STEPHEN TYPE VII—FOUR ‘NEW’ COINS
(PL. IV. 13–16)

1. MINT OF BEDFORD.

Obv. +STIEFNE:·

Rev. +DA[?]ID:ON:BEDE (Pl. IV. 13)

This remarkably fine coin was recently found in the garden of a house in Cambridge. It is of a very rare mint, and by an unpublished moneyer. Hitherto Tomas has been the only moneyer recorded for the mint and type, and this on the basis of possibly no more than two specimens. As it happens too, Tomas has also been the only identifiable moneyer of the Bedford mint for the whole reign. The name of the moneyer of the unique *BMC* type I coin in the British Museum is illegible as also is that of the unique *BMC* type VI (H. A. Parsons 1954, lot 254). The new coin also adds a new mint for the moneyer in the type. Until now Davi has been known only for Norwich (cf. *BMC* 222) and even there the attribution is not completely certain. However, since the mint-signature of that coin ends in *IC*: there is no possibility of this being another coin of Davi of Bedford.

2. MINT OF ILCHESTER.

Obv. +ST——E:·

Rev. +1(?D or P)——ON:IV—— (Only the downstroke of the first letter visible.) (Pl. IV. 14)

Strictly speaking this coin is not ‘new’ in the sense that it was unknown to me when I was writing my paper in the 1957 *British Numismatic Journal*, since it is ex H. A. Parsons (1954 sale—lot 256) and Drabble (lot 713). However, until now it has always been assumed to read —ON:LV—, and, as there is no die-link with any London coin in the British Museum (or elsewhere to the best of my knowledge), and as the moneyer’s name is completely illegible, the coin could find no place in my Table A (Mints and Moneyers). The first letter of the mint-name, however, is clearly an ‘i’ and not an ‘L’, and, since ‘v’ can represent both ‘v’ and ‘u’ (as in EVER and LVND), I have no hesitation in putting forward the reattribution to Ilchester. If I am right, the coin is not only unique of the type for the mint, but it is also unique of the mint for the regular coinage of the reign. Unfortunately the name of the moneyer is completely illegible, but it is a short one, probably of no more than five letters, and the initial letter is one that begins with a downstroke. The Adam of the Henry of Anjou coin of WIVELOC (*BMC* 282) is assuredly precluded. In the same way the spacing cannot possibly fit the name of any of the known ‘Tealby’ type moneyers of Ilchester, not that such a fit is to be expected since there was virtually a clean sweep of moneyers in the next reign.

3. MINT OF NORWICH.

Obv. +STIEFNE:·

Rev. +ALVR——:NOR: (Pl. IV. 15)

This could conceivably furnish a new moneyer (Alvred?) for the mint, but it is much more likely that it is an alternative spelling for the Alfrich of *BMC* 205.

4. MINT OF (?) PEVENSEY.

Obv. +STIEFNE:·

Rev. +ALVINE——N (or possibly EN). (Pl. IV. 16)

In this type Alwine is known only as a moneyer of Pevensey, and, although there is no die-link, I take this to be a coin of that mint and moneyer with an alternative spelling of the moneyer's name.

The four coins described above are now all in the possession of the writer. The workmanship, lettering, style, &c. are all perfectly regular except that the bust on the Ilchester coin is a little unusual. The lock of hair seems to be missing, and the crown is tilted at an extraordinary angle.

AN UNPUBLISHED EDWARD III/EDWARD II MULE



FIG. 3.

The left-hand coin, which is in the collection of the writer, is a rare penny of the Canterbury mint, and very possibly unique. It combines an obverse die of the first coinage of Edward III (Fox type XVd) with a reverse die of the last type of Edward II (Fox type XVe). It is to be dated to the period 1329–32 when both from London and from Canterbury the output of coin was extremely small—and hence the very great rarity of Fox XVd coins of both mints. Indeed, it is not impossible that it should be dated to the precise year 1329 when the issue of pennies from London and Canterbury was virtually negligible. So far as I am aware, no London example of this mule exists, and I know of no other specimen of Canterbury.

The obverse die is of early type XVd style with the Lombardic 'N' and the pellet stops

which are the essential criteria of the type, and a bust which is virtually indistinguishable from that found on coins of type XVc. The form of the initial cross, which differs as between the two types, is not visible on this coin, but there is not the least reason to suppose that it is otherwise than of the type XVd variety which is peculiar to the Canterbury mint. The reverse die with the Roman form of the letter 'N' proper to type XVc—and to all preceding 'Edwardian' types—calls for no particular comment.

The counter-mule (XVc/XVd) also exists. It too is of the Canterbury mint, and is represented apparently by a single coin—also unpublished—which is in the British Museum. It is one of the many rarities which the National Collection was fortunate enough to acquire from the Lawrence cabinet by private treaty in 1950, and, by kind permission of Dr. John Walker, it too is illustrated above as the right-hand coin. The absence of the three little pellets in the 'TAS' quarter of the reverse is interesting. However there is no uniformity in type XVd as between mints, and the presence of the extra pellets is not the hard and fast rule for Canterbury that it is for York. Presumably this too is an early die. The reverse die of the XVc/XVd mule occurs on a true XVd coin in the British Museum, also ex Lawrence, but so far I have not been able to find a true XVd coin from the obverse die of the new XVd/XVc mule.



HENRY I TYPE XI PENNIES FROM LLANTRITHYD



STEPHEN TYPE I PENNIES OF BRISTOL AND WILTON



THE 1962 LLANTRITHYD TREASURE TROVE AND SOME THOUGHTS ON THE FIRST NORMAN COINAGE OF WALES

R. H. M. DOLLEY

(Pl. IV)

A RECENT excavation conducted by the Cardiff Archaeological Society and directed by Mr. T. F. R. Jones at the site of a medieval manor at Llantrithyd some ten miles west of Cardiff has thrown up no fewer than seven pennies of Henry I, type xi, the only coins, incidentally, that have come to light in the course of the investigation of a substantial proportion of the enclosure. It is worth noting, too, that the excavators' attention was drawn to the site by Dr. H. N. Savory of the National Museum of Wales as a result of his examination of air-photographs of the whole district. In October 1962 an inquest was held at Cowbridge, and a verdict of treasure trove recorded, the coins being acquired by the National Museum of Wales, and a very substantial reward paid to the actual finders. As already remarked, the seven coins are all of one type, and just how remarkable is the incidence of discovery can be gauged from the fact that the English National Collection still cannot muster more than half a dozen coins of this issue, and it may also be remarked that collectors of the calibre of William Hunter and R. C. Lockett each could boast of no more than two, while V. J. Ryan had to be content with only one. In his 1916 *British Museum Catalogue* G. C. Brooke gave references to precisely thirteen specimens and one mule—this last in Hunter—and Mr. J. J. North has recently published a fourteenth, a penny of Dover by the moneyer Manwine, while Mr. J. D. A. Thompson has been good enough to draw the attention of the writer to a fifteenth, a penny of Sandwich by a moneyer Wul(f)stan, which has been acquired by the Heberden Coin Room of the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford.

The seven coins from Llantrithyd represent, therefore, a very substantial accession of new material. In this paper they will be discussed only from the point of view of the numismatist, and no attempt will be made to indicate the exact circumstances of their discovery—they were found not together but in a scatter—nor of their concealment. The first would necessitate consideration of the stratification of much of the site, and the second a discussion of almost the whole of the structure of the English coinage under Henry I. It must suffice to say that it is the opinion of the writer that the coins recovered are strays from a much larger hoard which came to light when the wall collapsed later in the twelfth century, and his impression is that the hoard was concealed within a year or two of 1125, from which it will be gathered that he is not satisfied that the last word has been said on the subject of the ordering of the Brooke types.

The seven coins may be listed as follows:

(a) *Oby. hen ——R*
Rev. Outer: ——||—| | INC | ON
Inner: +B—STO:
Die-axis 270°. Weight 21.3 gr. (Pl. IV. 1)
Bristol, (Herd)inc.

(b) *Obv.* hEN— —RE*Rev.* Outer: +PA||LTE||RV||S.O

Inner: +NCARDII:

Die-axis 330°. Weight 19.9 gr. (Pl. IV. 2)

Cardiff, Walterus.

(c) *Obv.* hENRI R—*Rev.* Outer: #A||LD||PI||NE

Inner: +ONGOEFTE

Die-axis 0°. Weight 18.9 gr. (chipped). (Pl. IV. 3)

Shaftesbury, Aldwine.

(d) *Obv.* hEN— R—*Rev.* Outer: +T||VR||#||#||#

Inner: +HPILT#N

Die-axis 270°. Weight 20.8 gr. (Pl. IV. 4)

Wilton, Tur . . .

(e) *Obv.* —N R—*Rev.* Outer: #A||IL||PI||#

Inner: #PINC

Die-axis 180°. Weight 19.6 gr. (Pl. IV. 5)

Winchester, Ailwi(ne).

(f) *Obv.* hEH R*Rev.* Outer: #||IL||#||#||E

Inner: +ONPINC

Die-axis 270° (?). Weight 17.3 gr. (Pl. IV. 6)

Winchester, (A)il(win)e?

(g) *Obv.* hE— —*Rev.* Outer: +E||#||#||DO

Inner: #

Die-axis 180°. Fragments. (Pl. IV. 7)

Uncertain mint, E. . . . d.

Clearly the seven coins emanate from at least five mints, Cardiff, a new mint for the reign, Bristol, Shaftesbury, and Wilton which are not previously recorded as mints for the type, and Winchester which is given as a mint for the type in *Norman Kings*, but with a query. The moneyer of the coin of Wilton must be uncertain—see the discussion below—and there is possibly room for doubt concerning the name that appears on the penny of Bristol, though the probability that it is Herdinc (Harding) amounts almost to certainty. The moneyer of the coin of Shaftesbury is indisputably Aldwine who is known for the mint in *BMC* type xiii, while the name that appears on one at least of the two Winchester pennies is unquestionably Ailwine. In the opinion of the writer this Ailwine may be identified with the Alvinus of *BMC* 78A—in type xi, it will be recalled, moneyers' names are given quite capriciously in their Latin and/or English forms. On the second of the two coins of Winchester, the moneyer's name is far from certain, but it could very well be Ailwine again even though there is no die-link either with the previous coin or with *BMC* 78A. In *Norman Kings*, by the way, Brooke would appear to postulate an identity of name between this Alvinus and the Ælfwine who had struck at the mint early in the reign of William I. Granted the plausibility of the disappearance by dissimilation of medial 'f' at this period, the present writer feels that Alvinus could just as well be a latinization of Ailwine, and this last must surely be OE Æthelwine, and not

Ælfwine, by way of such numismatically well-attested intermediate forms as *Ægelwine* and *Ælwine*.

Beyond doubt the most significant of the seven coins from Llantrithyd is the superb penny of the Cardiff mint by a moneyer Walterus. It prompts reconsideration of the whole pattern of the Norman coinage of Wales. The picture that Brooke has left in *English Coins* may be summarized as follows:

Mint of Cardiff

A few coarse coins of the *Paxs* type of William the Conqueror with equivocal mint-signatures CAIRDI, CARITI, &c.

Mint of Pembroke

Unique dies of Henry I, type xiv, and of Stephen, type i, by a moneyer Gillepatric who is known from a documentary source.

Mint of Rhuddlan

A few very rare coins of the *Paxs* type of William the Conqueror, and perhaps one blundered coin of William Rufus.

Mint of St. Davids

A few coarse coins of the *Paxs* type of William the Conqueror with equivocal mint-signatures DEVITVN, &c.

There are marked affinities between the alleged Cardiff coins of William I and those of the mint of 'Devitun' identified by Carlyon-Britton as St. Davids. There is, too, as Carlyon-Britton showed, a die-link between 'Devitun' and Shrewsbury. Even if, then, the present writer had not long ago sensed grave doubts among historians as to the plausibility of there being William I mints at Cardiff and St. Davids, he would have been inclined to seek the mint or mints of the *Paxs* coins of 'Cardiff' and of 'St. Davids' considerably nearer the modern border of Wales and of England. In this connexion it should be stressed that of their very nature 'caer' and 'Dewi' are among the most common place-name elements from Wales, and there are the most formidable historical objections to there being a Norman mint at Cardiff before the reign of William II. Even if CAIRDI ('caer Dewi' or 'David's fort'?) is not the same as DEVITUN ('David's town'?), the *turres* concerned are surely to be located somewhere not too remote from Bristol and Shrewsbury, and the first coin that can be given with confidence to Cardiff, the 'caer on the Taff', must be the Walterus coin of Henry I found at Llantrithyd in 1962.

The mint-signature on the new coin of Cardiff is CARDII, and this prompts the reflection that there may be other coins of the Cardiff mint that have not been recognized. It is the opinion of the writer that there are three such coins, *BMC* 19 in Stephen, type i, and two die-duplicates in other cabinets. Here the reverse legend reads clearly and unequivocally +PILLEM:ON:CARDI:. Brooke gave the coin to Carlisle, and Willem undoubtedly is a Carlisle moneyer at this period. However, on a *regular* coin CARDI is impossible for Carlisle, despite forms such as 'Cardeol' and 'Carduil' which are represented on *local* dies by such spellings as CARD, and especial emphasis must be laid on the form CARLI which appears on the earliest of all the Carlisle coins, *BMC* 116 of Henry I, a type xiv penny by the moneyer Durant which, like *BMC* 19 of Stephen, is

from dies of impeccable 'London' work. There is reason to think, too, that no Stephen type i dies of regular work reached Carlisle before David I seized the city immediately after the death of Henry I, and on any telling *BMC* 19 stands out from the rest of the Carlisle coinage in being of regular work. On the evidence of the Watford and South Kyme hoards, moreover, one suspects that the Willem who strikes Carlisle coins from local dies was not operating at the inception of the type, i.e. in the weeks between Henry's death and David's capture of the city. The whole question of the coinage of Carlisle, however, is in the melting-pot, and the more so because of the writer's recent discovery of a Stephen coin of EDEN(burh) which may indicate that David's 'Edinburgh' coins were struck on English soil, but on any telling *BMC* 19 is an interloper at Carlisle, and little importance can be attached to the coincidence of the moneyer's name which is one of the most common on English coins at the period. Provisionally, therefore, the Llantrithyd hoard of coins of Henry I may be said to have added Carlisle to the canon of Stephen's mints as well.

There remains to be discussed the question of the identity of the Wilton moneyer who struck the fourth of the seven coins from Llantrithyd. His name appears to begin with the by no means uncommon prototheme *Tur-*, representing OSCAND *Thor-*, the only letter in any way doubtful being the third. To the student of *Norman Kings* this suggests at once the possibility that the *Tur* . . . of the new coin is the Turchil who is given in that work as a Wilton moneyer in Stephen, type i (*BMC* 116 and 117). However, it is now some years since Mr. F. Elmore Jones made some very significant discoveries which he noted at the time on the tickets in the British Museum trays but never published. It is by his kind permission that reference is made to them here. To take first *BMC* 117 of Stephen (Pl. IV. 8), a glance should be sufficient to establish that it is from the same dies as one in Mr. Elmore Jones's cabinet (Pl. IV. 9). A scrutiny of the two coins in combination further establishes that the reverse legend in fact reads +TVRCHIL:ON:BRIC, and Turchil is, of course, a well-attested Bristol moneyer in the immediately preceding issues. In the same way, a dispassionate scrutiny of the reverse legend of *BMC* 116 in the same type (Pl. IV. 10) suggests that the real reading is in fact +TVMAS:ON:PILT, which, though there is as yet no die-link, prompts comparison with a British Museum acquisition subsequent to *Norman Kings* (BM 1921, 5-13-147), a coin from the South Kyme hoard (*NC* 1922, p. 77, no. 234) with incomplete legend T:ON:PILT (Pl. IV. 11). On the basis of a die-duplicate in Mr. Elmore Jones's cabinet (Pl. IV. 12), this legend can now be restored with absolute confidence as +TVMAS:ON:PILT. In other words, the Stephen, type i, moneyers of the Wilton mint number no more than two, Falche and Tomas, the latter's name normally appearing on his coins as *Tomas* (cf. *NC* 1922, p. 77, nos. 230-3—though here Lawrence's running number is in error, no more than three coins in fact being involved) but occasionally as *Tumas* (cf. the two coins just cited). It is surely suggestive, too, that the Wilton coins in the great Watford and South Kyme hoards should be of these two moneyers and no others, and the suggestion of this note is that Turchil as a Stephen moneyer of the Wilton mint can safely be dismissed as mythical.

Even if, though, Turchil had been acceptable as a Wilton moneyer of Stephen, it would not have followed that the Llantrithyd coin on which the moneyer's name begins *Tur-* was even plausibly his. It is remarkable how few of the type xi moneyers of Henry I are known in Stephen, type i, and this despite the circumstance that coins of the later issue are relatively common. The same argument, too, can be adduced against any

suggestion that the third letter of the moneyer's name is only apparently 'R' and in reality a mis-struck 'M', so that the name is in fact Tomas with the *Tumas* spelling. It is true that Tomas appears as a Henry I moneyer of Wilton in the earliest extant Pipe Roll, but it is notable that no coin of his is known in *BMC* type xiv, and this despite the fact that the type is unusually well represented in modern cabinets as a consequence of at least one major hoard which evaded the treasure-trove regulations (*Inventory* 71 and *BNJ* xix (1927/8), pp. 93–107 where the hoard is listed). Moreover, the disposition of the letters that are visible on the Llantrithyd penny is such that we would have to postulate a most improbable dittoigraphy TVMMAS, and this when the variant and irregular spelling with 'u' for 'o' is one that is otherwise known only from coins of a whole decade later when a very different epigraphy obtains. To pile improbability upon improbability, and then to appeal to a *lectio inferior* such as TVM, where TVR is almost certain, must be considered unscientific, and it is almost impossible to reject the apparent reading which coincides so neatly with a well-attested prototheme. Nevertheless the name of the moneyer for the moment remains in doubt. There are at least three recorded names of Norman moneyers with which TVR- would be consistent, namely Thurbein (TVRBEN), Thurcil or Turchil (TVRCIL), and Thurstan (TURSTAN), and there seems little to choose between them. If, however, prosopographical patterns may be thought to possess any validity, Thurcil or Turchil may be said to have one argument still in its favour inasmuch as a moneyer of that name had struck at Wilton some seventy years earlier in the reign of Edward the Confessor. It would indeed be ironic, though, if another specimen of the Llantrithyd coin were to come to light and establish Turchil as an undoubted Henry I moneyer of Wilton, since if this publication of the new hoard has any merit beyond novelty it is because it puts on record Mr. Elmore Jones's exposure of Turchil as a myth where the Wilton mint under Stephen is concerned.

Of necessity this paper has had to range rather widely, and accordingly there is now offered a summary of the new find in slightly modified *Inventory* format:

LLANTRITHYD, Glamorganshire, spring/summer, 1962.

7 AR Norman pennies. Deposit: c. 1125.

Henry I: *BMC* (N) type xi—*Bristol*: (Herd)inc, 1. *Cardiff*: Walterus, 1. *Shaftesbury*: Aldwine, 1. *Wilton*: Tur—, 1. *Winchester*: Ailwine, 2 (?). *Uncertain mint*: E—d, 1. No container.

R. H. M. Dolley in *BNJ* xxxi (1962), pp. 74–79. The coins, discovered in the course of an archaeological excavation, may well be the scatter from a major hoard.

In conclusion it may be found useful to summarize the additions and corrections which, if the arguments set out above are accepted, are now necessary in the case of the sources most likely to be consulted by students of the Norman coinage of the various mints concerned.

G. C. Brooke, *Norman Kings*:

p. cci, BRISTOL	Add to the Henry I moneyers (Herd)ing (xi). Add to the Stephen moneyers Turchil (i).
p. cciv, CARDIFF ?	The attribution to this mint of type viii pennies of William I seems unlikely.
p. ccv, CARDIFF	Add under Henry I Walterus (xi). Add under Stephen Willem (i).
p. ccxxxii, ST. DAVIDS	The attribution is most improbable.
p. ccxxxv, SHAFTESBURY	Add under Henry I, type xi (Aldwine).
p. ccxlvi, WILTON	Add to moneyers Tur . . . (Henry I, xi). Delete from moneyers Turchil (Stephen, i).

p. 335, BRISTOL Add after *BMC* 2 Turchil (*BMC* 117).
p. 337, CARLISLE The mint of *BMC* 19 is probably Cardiff.
p. 353, WILTON The moneyer of *BMC* 116 is Tumas.
 The mint of *BMC* 117 is Bristol.

G. C. Brooke, *English Coins*:

p. 83, CARDIFF The attribution is very doubtful.
p. 85, ST. DAVIDS The attribution is very doubtful.
p. 89, Add to mints CARDIFF, Walterus.
p. 90, WILTON Add to moneyers Tur
p. 97, BRISTOL Add to moneyers Turchil (cf. also Supplement, p. 256).
 Add to mints CARDIFF, Willem.
p. 98, WILTON Delete from moneyers Turchil.

H. de S. Shortt, 'The Mints of Wiltshire', *NC* 1948, pp. 169-87.

p. 181, *Henry I* Add Tur, type 11.
 Stephen Delete Turchil.

Consequential emendations follow in the case of the tables opposite p. 176.

EDWARDIAN STERLINGS IN THE MONTRAVE HOARD

G. L. V. TATLER and B. H. I. H. STEWART

MODERN views of the penny coinage of Edward I, II, and III have tended to look solely to the work of the Fox brothers,¹ not only because of the thoroughness with which they treated a problem that had hitherto defeated the English numismatists, but also because the only other considerable contribution to the subject is in an unfamiliar, though not inaccessible, context.

Our researches have continually suggested that no study of Edwardian sterlings is complete without reference to the work of Edward Burns² who wrote an essay on the English pennies in the Montrave hoard as a digression from his study of the contemporary Scottish coinage, for the arrangement of which he considered they provided important comparative material. The Foxes drew heavily on the documentary evidence whereas Burns had only the coins themselves upon which to establish his chronology. Within the hoard he found a single mule between the earlier large- and later small-lettered issues (V/VI in the Fox classification) and from this coin he worked both forwards and backwards through the series until he had differentiated fifty varieties. His classification accords closely with the system later adopted by the Foxes, with few but significant exceptions.

Since Montrave produced over 8,000 sterlings of Edward I, II, and III, and no hoard has been discovered this century of comparable dimensions, it is important to the study both of the structure of coin hoards and of the classification of Edwardian pence to attempt to analyse the contents of the Montrave hoard on the basis of the Fox arrangement. Tables II and III present a summary of the contents of the hoard according to the Burns and Fox schemes respectively.

In some instances it is possible to state with confidence that a certain group of coins described by Burns is the exact equivalent of one described by the Foxes. Comparison, however, is made difficult in cases where small variations within a group have been distinguished and separately labelled by one, but disregarded by the other. Mr. Derek Allen wrote that the classification of Edwardian pence is 'ultimately a matter of eye and taste'.³ Nevertheless our tables are an earnest attempt to produce a concordance between the two, the Fox equivalents being deduced from the description by Burns in his text, supported by reference to his illustrations. We have used the sign = to indicate that there is no doubt in our minds that a given Burns group is exactly coextensive with a Fox group; and the sign ≈ to denote that Burns and Fox groups are broadly equivalent, but with qualifications. In all cases we have briefly given our reasons. Where a Burns or

¹ H. B. Earle Fox and J. Shirley Fox, 'Numismatic History of the Reigns of Edward I, II and III', *BNJ* vols. vi-x (1910-14); a summary was later published in *NC* 4th ser. xvii (1918), 'The Pennies of Edward I, II and III'. The only material inconsistency between the two is that the Northern variety of Class III is labelled III^d in *BNJ* and III^e in *NC*; the *BNJ* usage

is generally followed, and has been adopted in this paper.

² *The Coinage of Scotland*, 1887, i, pp. 186-220 and pl. A.

³ 'The Boyton Find of Edward I and II', *NC*, 5th ser. xvi (1936), p. 116.

Fox class is wholly included in a class of the other classification, the sign $>$ has its usual mathematical implication of greater and lesser.

Burns classified his varieties into eight groups viz: 1–5, 6–10, 11–15, 16–21, 22–30, 31–37, 38–42, 43–50. His grouping has the great merit that each group is a clearly defined entity; all the varieties within it share common characteristics; and although varieties may merge within a group, one group does not merge with the next. The groups agree with the Fox chronology and therefore the only dissension is within them. They are described and discussed by Burns in some detail, but the individual varieties in many instances are not, so that identification often rests entirely upon the photographic plate.

TABLE I
Concordance of Burns and Fox Classifications

Burns	Fox	Remarks
A1	= Ia + Ic	With Gothic n ¹ = Ia; with Roman n = Ic.
—	— Ib	Not present in M.; ? one obverse die only.
A2	< Id	M. contained 2 specimens with annulet on breast.
A3	= IIa	Bust as GLVT ² fig. 2c.
A4	= IIa	A4 without pellets in crown = GLVT fig. 2d.
A4	\cong Id	5 coins of A4 in M. with pellets in crown = GLVT fig. 2b.
A5	= IIb	
A6	= IIIa	B. describes A6–10 as one group. A6 = IIIa because of drapery. B. noted that 'the head of A8 is only a variety of that on A7'; cf. DFA, loc. cit.
A7–10	= IIIb	Not described by F, but illustrated by them, BNJ vii (1911), pl. i, no. 11. Narrow face, V-shaped chin resting on long neck (cf. IIb bust); crown with pearl-shaped ornaments; drapery either as IIIc or as IIId; unusual h (fig. 1). (Pl. V. 1.)
A11	—	Unnoticed by Fox; variety of A11 (same 'h') with new bust and shorter hair; crown with spear-shaped ornaments. (Pl. V. 2.)
A12	—	
A13	= IIIe	Labelled by F. in BNJ as IIIe, but as IIId in NC 1917 (the Northern mints variety).
A14	= IIIc	B. found A14 and 15 inseparable, i.e. no exact dividing line, but his illustrated examples = IIIc and IIId respectively. 2 Durham coins have reverse of A5. (Fox IIb).
A15	= IIId	
A16	= IIIg	Described together by B. and by implication inseparable; but he notes 4 varieties of contractive marks, and both slender and full-bodied s (all 5 Chester coins in M. had slender s) A16 + 17 include all known mints of IIIg.
A17	—	
A18	= IIIf	B. notes the characteristic 'unusual development of the nose'.
A19–21	\cong IVa–c	A19 described as having a both barred and unbarred, and being first occasion of use of comma-shaped contractive marks. A20–21 (described as with comma after R connected to tail of that letter) considered by B. as same class with larger and smaller versions of one style of head.
A22	\cong IVa–c	IVb certainly included since 3 out of 5 Durham coins have cross moline in reverse quarter.
A23	\cong IVa–c	A23 + 24 described as one coinage by B., A23 having barred a, A24 unbarred a and pellet before obverse inscription.
A24	< IVd	
A25	\cong IVa–c	A25 + 26 described as one coinage by B., A25 having barred a, A26 unbarred a and pellet before obverse inscription.
A26	< IVd	
A27	< IVe	A27 + 28 described as 'of the same coinage' A27 of London and Canterbury only with 3 pellets on breast; A28 of Durham and Bury St. Edmunds only, with breast plain. IVe of Durham unknown to F.
A28	< IVe	
A29	= V	A29 + 30 described together, with single (sometimes two) pellet on breast. One London variety said to have head as A25 + 26. The key mule (Durham) was used to illustrate A30.
A30	—	
A31	\cong VII	3 coins in M. without rose on breast possibly early Fox VI (see Pl. V. 6).

¹ English numismatic literature almost always (inexplicably) refers to the Gothic n as Lombardic.

² Between Types I and II of the Pennies of Edward I', BNJ xxviii, p. 290; on p. 293, in Appendix A, 'fig. 3b, 3c, 3d' should read 'fig. 2b, 2c, 2d'.

³ G. L. V. Tatler, 'A Note on the Transition

Burns	Fox	Remarks
A32	$\simeq VI$	London only; see note above on A31.
A33+34	$< VIII$	Noted by B. for contractive marks.
A35+36	$\simeq IXa$	Described together by B., sometimes with star on breast and sometimes without. Some coins without star may be late VIII.
A37	$= IXb$	6 Durham coins with reverse of A36.
A38	$> Xa$	Includes 13 London and 5 Canterbury reading EDWRR (usually ascribed to Xb).
A39	$\simeq Xb$	See note above on A38.
A40	$< Xc-f$	1st bust (see below and Fig. 2).
A41	$< Xc-f$	2nd bust (see below and Fig. 3).
A42	$?= Xf$	See below, discussed in text.
A43	$< Xc-f$	3rd bust (see below and Fig. 4).
A44	$\simeq XIa+b$	Includes coins of Bek and Kellawe; mainly XIa but B. noted coins with sharp-backed E (i.e. XIb).
A45	$< XIb$	Sharp-backed E.
A46	$> XIc+XII$ (+XIII)	Coins with lop-topped A = XIc; with peculiar crown = XII (B's ill.). But A46 is plentiful whilst XIc+XII are very scarce, therefore some of XIII definitely (e.g. Beaumont) and possibly some of XIb are included.
A47	$\simeq XIII$	There is no sharp dividing line between XIII/XIV; a number of coins do not display the characteristic features of one or the other class exclusively.
A48	$\simeq XIV$	Cards with very large E indicate presence of XVc, but Durham/London mules infer XIV also. 2 Canterbury coins with Gothic 'n' on reverse indicate XVd or XVc/XVd mules, while the York coin might be similar to the XVd coin described and illustrated by F. (Pl. XI, fig. 14) and considered by them unique.
A49	$\simeq XVa-c$	
A50	$< XVd$	

The foregoing lists require some comment, although we shall reserve detailed discussion until a later occasion.

Many have found it impossible to sub-divide Fox group IV into *a*, *b*, and *c*.¹ Burns entertained the possibility that the pellet was placed on A24 and A26 to indicate that they were subsequent coinages to A23 and A25, in which case A23 may have been of contemporaneous issue with A25, and A24 with A26. There are analogous instances in other classes to support this idea.

The Foxes considered Ic and Id were parallel issues,² and, of five 'VI/V' mules that we have examined, three of the obverses³ are of a variety which the Foxes called VIa, and two⁴ of a type more akin to VIIb, but without the rose on the breast, and even similar to certain early Fox VIII coins. On Pl. V we illustrate both varieties of 'VI/V' mule (nos. 3 and 5) alongside true coins from the same obverse dies (nos. 4 and 6). Difficulties in accepting the Fox VI–VII–VIII pattern as it stands have recently been admitted,⁵ and the Burns arrangement of A31–32–33–34 is significant in this context. Identification of a parallel series of coins throughout the series might explain a number of problems.

It seems just possible that they were the products of separate officinae, which might even have coincided with, for instance, some such distinction as that drawn in the mint accounts between English and foreign silver.⁶ However, the division may have been due to no more than the convenience of internal administration at the mint. Some similar explanation is apparently needed to account for the remarkable exclusiveness of Burns

¹ e.g. D. F. Allen discussing the Boyton hoard, loc. cit.; and C. A. Whitton, *English Pence 1279–1489* in *Notes on English Silver Coins 1066–1648* (ed. Seaby), p. 31.

² *BNJ* vii (1911), p. 107.

³ (a) BM, Bootham hoard; (b) F. Elmore Jones collection; (c) C. E. Blunt coll. (Pl. V. 3).

⁴ (a) BM, Newminster hoard (Pl. V. 5); (b) G. L. V. Tatler collection.

⁵ e.g. by Mr. P. Woodhead, in a paper read to the British Numismatic Society on 28 Apr. 1959.

⁶ C. G. Crump and C. Johnson, 'Tables of Bullion coined under Edward I, II and III', *NC*, 4th ser. xiii (1913).

groups I and II in the Scottish coinage of Alexander III.¹ Each of these groups contains three classes which are heavily muled between each other within the groups, but in only one case does there seem to be an interchange of dies between the groups, a situation reminiscent of the relationship between Fox Ic and Id in the English series.

Another case in which subsequent numismatists have been consistently unable to apply a Fox system of subdivision is class Xc-f.² On the basis of work done on the Whittonstall hoard,³ a new system of busts has been evolved in order to split this very considerable group. As indicated in the lists, it happens to accord admirably with the Burns classification.



FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.

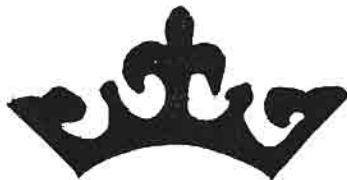


FIG. 3.



FIG. 4.

The first bust (Pl. V. 11) is similar to that employed on many coins of Fox Xb (Pl. V. 9) but with a new crown (Fig. 2). We have discovered a coin (Pl. V. 10) reading EDWARA (i.e. Xc-f) with the first bust, but with the old crown of Xb, which thus stands as transitional between Xb and A40.

The second bust (Pl. V. 12) has a larger, oval face, sometimes with a swelling on the nose, and large curly locks of hair. It has a new crown (Fig. 3).

The third bust (Pl. V. 13) has a spade-shaped face with yet a different crown (Fig. 4). Obverses with this bust are found muled with XI reverses (Pl. V. 14), and we illustrate a further important transitional coin, of which the obverse combines straight-sided XI lettering with this third bust, while the reverse has the normal lettering of X with concave sides (Pl. V. 15).

A scarce variety with a stout initial cross pattée, and a bust similar to that of Fox XI, is sometimes found muled with XI reverses (Pl. V. 16). Burns labels this A42, and though the Fox plates do not exhibit an obvious consistency in their labelling of sub-classes of X, we believe that it should be associated with their Xf.

Burns considered that Edward II came to the throne during the currency of A43 (Fox Xc-f, 3rd bust). The Foxes, on their interpretation of the Durham coins, suggest that Xe

¹ Besides Burns's exposition, see also, for the classification, R. H. M. Dolley and Ian Stewart, 'The 1953 Bootham Treasure Trove', *BNJ* xxvii (1955), pp. 285-6, but the discussion on pp. 284-5 should be disregarded.

² Again see D. F. Allen and C. A. Whitton, locc.

citt. (p. 80, n. 3 and p. 82, n. 1).

³ Discovered on 13 Jan. 1958. A detailed report by Mr. Dolley and Mr. Tatler is appearing in the current number of *Archaeologia Aeliana*. We are indebted to Mr. Dolley for allowing us to make use of the material in this paper.

and Xf were in issue at the end of Edward I's reign,¹ but that XI followed early in the new reign.² There is, however, good reason for believing that X continued for some years into the reign of Edward II.

In the first place, Mr. Blunt has convincingly dated Berwick coins of his class V, which correspond exactly to London coins of XIa, to the winter of 1310.³ The Berwick coins show the crown in its earliest form, before the small dexter ornament began to break. It is unlikely that the early period of class XI, before this defect developed, lasted for three years or more.

The Whittonstall hoard, which contained coins in mint condition of Bishop Kellawe, granted temporalities on 20 May 1311, was perhaps buried late in that year. The local mint of Durham (Whittonstall is only fifteen miles away) supplied the overwhelming majority of the most recent class, XI, whereas the southern mints of London and Canterbury predominate, as from volume of mint output they should, in the previous class, X. The figures are as follows:

	Class X	Class XI
Durham	104	89 (18 of Kellawe)
London	249	11 (including 3 mules with X)
Canterbury	169	4

The implication is that coins of the new class, unlike those of X, had not yet had time to travel northwards in any numbers, and that in 1311 it had not therefore been under way for very long.

But the most emphatic evidence of all is that of the bullion figures. From Michaelmas 1302 (the start of X, when the provincial mints began to be closed) to Mich. 1307 some 240,000 lb. of silver were struck at the London mint, and in the next two years (the accounts for 1309–11 are not preserved) some 163,000 lb. Class XI probably covers the last year of the period for which the accounts are missing, and may easily have lasted until 1314. Yet if it lasted only until 1311, which Whittonstall renders highly improbable, the total bullion attributable to the period 1307–11, that covered by XI according to the Fox chronology, must have amounted to some 200,000 lb. at London, even if the pressure of coining was much reduced during the two years of missing accounts. As against the bullion total of 240,000 lb. for the period of X according to the Fox arrangement, this ought to result in London coins of XI being nearly as common in hoards as those of X. But in the Boyton hoard there were 906 of London X and 187 of XI, in the Bootham hoard 116 of X and 32 of XI, and in Montrave of true Fox X (i.e. A38–43, and excluding X/XI mules) there were no less than 1,728 as against a maximum of 391 for class XI (A44–46, not allowing any of A46 to be of Fox XII or XIII). The discrepancy is heightened by the fact that XI is the later class, and its survival rate calculated per pound of bullion coined should be if anything slightly higher than that of X.

We believe therefore that XI should be dated not much earlier than the end of 1310. In XII, Canterbury coins for the first time become commoner than those of London. In 1313/14 London struck some 30,000 lb. against nearly 35,000 at Canterbury during the last six months of the period only. In 1314/15 London struck less than 12,000, Canterbury

¹ BNJ x (1914), p. 96.

² BNJ ix (1913), p. 193.

³ C. E. Blunt, 'The Mint of Berwick-on-Tweed

under Edward I, II and III', NC 5th ser. xi (1931), p. 28; and see Ian Stewart, *The Scottish Coinage*, 1955, Appendix I.

more than 20,000 lb. Class XII is rare, and must have been followed very soon by XIII which on the evidence of Boyton and Bootham was about six times as abundant at both mints. In XIII, Canterbury coins are about twice as common as London, which would accord well with the known output for 1314/15. Figures available for XII are too small to be a reliable guide, but it too belongs to a period after London had taken second place. It looks as if XII lasted about three or four years until c. 1314, when it was followed by XII and XIII in quick succession.

To the problems of coin-survival and detailed classification in this series we hope to return after we have carried our investigation further.

LIST OF COINS ILLUSTRATED ON PLATE V

1. London, Burns A 11 (GLVT).
2. " A 12 (GLVT).
3. " Fox VI/V (Mr. C. E. Blunt's collection; formerly in J. Shirley-Fox collection and illustrated in the Fox article in *BNJ*, pl. vii, no. 11).
4. " Fox VIa, from the same *obv.* die as no. 3 (Mr. K. A. Jacob's collection).
5. " Fox 'VI'V (BM, Newminster hoard).
6. " Fox 'VI', from the same *obv.* die as no. 5 (BM, ex Lawrence, 1950).
7. " Fox VI, antler crown, double-barred N in DNS (GLVT).
8. " Fox VIII, the face being put in from the same punch as that of no. 7, with a small cut between the sinister eye and hair (GLVT).
9. " Fox Xb, *obv.* only (BHIHS).
10. " 1st bust, crown of Fox Xb, *Edwa R Angl*, *obv.* only, overstruck on *rev.* of an earlier coin (BHIHS).
11. " 1st bust, Fox Xc-f, *obv.* only (GLVT).
12. " 2nd bust, Fox Xc-f, *obv.* only (GLVT).
13. Canterbury, 3rd bust, Fox Xc-f (GLVT).
14. London, *obv.* 3rd bust, Fox Xc-f, *rev.* Fox XI (BHIHS).
15. " *obv.* 3rd bust, straight-sided lettering of Fox XI, *rev.* lettering (e.g. L, N) hollow-sided of Fox X, though with straight-sided 1's (GLVT).
16. " *obv.* Burns A 42 = ? Fox Xf, *rev.* Fox XI (BHIHS).

We are indebted to the Keeper of Coins, British Museum, Mr. C. E. Blunt and Mr. K. A. Jacob for allowing their coins to be used for illustrations; to the Keeper for supplying plaster casts (all except no. 4, kindly provided by the Fitzwilliam Museum); and to Mr. Blunt and Mr. Dolley who have read through the paper and discussed with us various problems presented by the series.

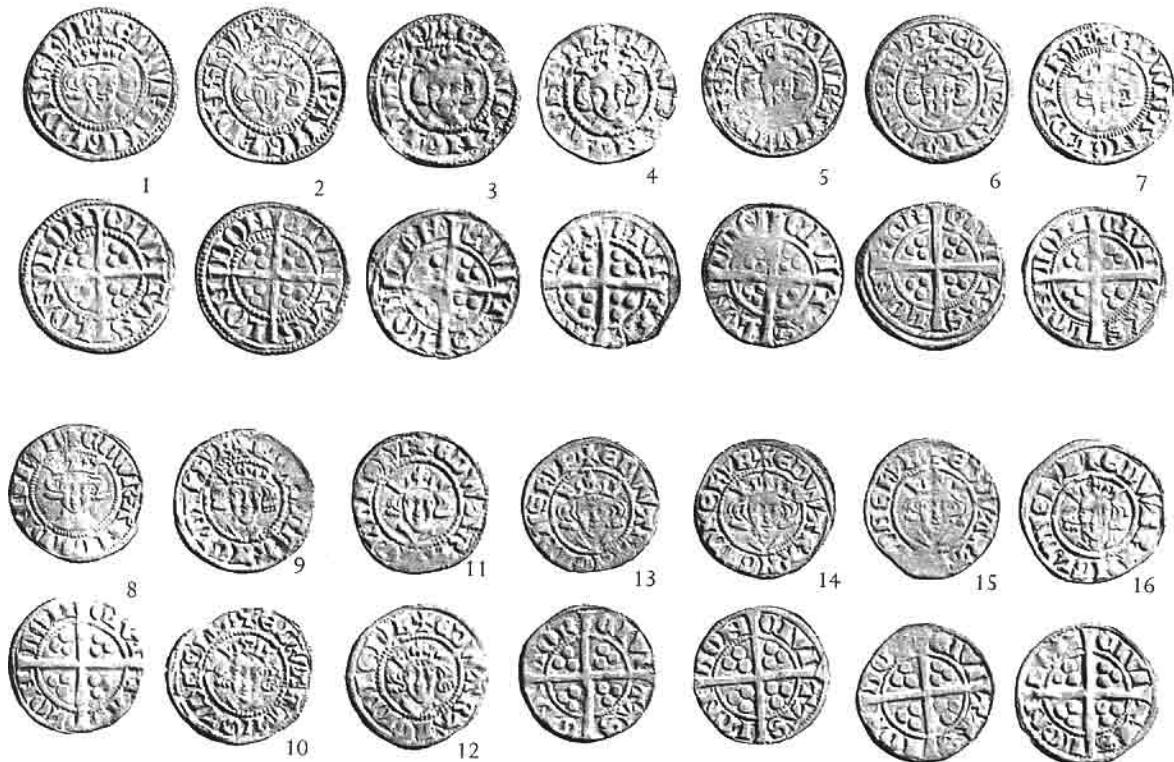
TABLE II

Contents of the Montrave Hoard as Classified by Burns

TABLE III

Contents of the Montrave Hoard Arranged According to the Fox Classification

	<i>London</i>	<i>Canterbury</i>	<i>Bury St. Edmunds</i>	<i>Bristol</i>	<i>Chester</i>	<i>Durham</i>	<i>Exeter</i>	<i>Kingston</i>	<i>Lincoln</i>	<i>Newcastle</i>	<i>York</i>	<i>Total</i>
Ia	2											2
Ib	..											..
Ic	57											57
Id	23											23
IIa	81	1										82
IIb	106	12	42									199
IIIb/II	1		1									2
IIIa	11	..	2									11
IIIb	11	3										50
IIIc	222	52	64									389
IIId												
IIIe												
IIIf	20	3	9									41
IIIg	175	66	38	4	5	20						352
A 11	5											5
A 12	23	2	5									30
IVa-c	345	166		15		19						545
IVd	122	98										320
IVe	60	17		3		4						84
V	37	14		1		1						53
V/VI	..											1
VI	10											10
VII	18	4										23
VIII	97	1										99
IXa	118	23		3		9						153
IXb	412	101	54	13	5	67	15	17				759
IXb/X	..	3				1						44
Xa/IXb	74											74
Xb/IXb	27											27
Xc-f/IXb	1											1
Xa	57	48		3		23						148
Xb	176	127		6		25						338
Xc-f 1	756	416		32		74						1,278
Xc-f 2	555	267		31		139						992
Xc-f 3	99	39		8		17						163
Xf	85	89		32		9						215
XIa+b	305	193		43		95						636
XIc+XII(+)	86	156		18		42						302
XIII	46	87		38		18						189
XIV	103	180		66		31						380
XVa-c	33	35		24		28						120
XVd	3	3		1		..						9
	<u>4,362</u>	<u>2,206</u>	<u>215</u>	<u>343</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>668</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>93</u>	<u>106</u>	<u>194</u>	<u>8,229</u>



EDWARDIAN STERLINGS



MISCELLANEOUS ILLUSTRATIONS

THE PENCE, HALF-PENCE AND FARTHINGS OF RICHARD II, OF THE MINTS OF LONDON, YORK AND DURHAM

FRANK PURVEY

INTRODUCTION

THE reign of Richard II is one of the few since the Conquest which has not completely received modern scrutiny.

In the *Numismatic Chronicle* of 1871 Mr. Neck described some of the more interesting coins in his collection, but it was in the *Num. Chron.* of 1904 that Mr. F. A. Walters in his series of articles 'English Coins, 1377-1483' described and listed all the then known specimens in both gold and silver, and in the *Transactions of the International Numismatic Congress, 1936*, C. E. Blunt wrote of the links between the late London coins of Richard and the early coins of Henry IV.

This, then, was the total amount of published material available when Mr. W. J. W. Potter and I began to make a more detailed study of the silver coins. The results of Mr. Potter's work on the London groats and half-groats were published in Vol. xxix (1959) of this *Journal* and I hope that this article will help to complete the silver series, although a detailed study of the gold coins has yet to be made.

I will make no general reference to the history of this period as a short introduction may be found in Mr. Potter's article.

The number of minor coins of Richard II which have survived are pathetically small and I should have preferred to make this investigation in the light of a large hoard. The general condition of the coins, too, is very poor, and this has made die-linking extremely arduous.

My investigation deals mainly with the York pence for various reasons, chief among them being that I think a clearer chronological sequence can be seen here than at London and that, due to the many points of similarity which I have noticed between the York pence and the London half-pence, in general, the classification which I shall apply at York will work equally well at London and Durham; this also applies to the suggested dating of the coins, which (without any direct documentary evidence) can only be described as speculative.

There are, however, certain facts which emerge from the numismatic evidence of each of the three mints and these facts will be discussed as they occur in the text with a more general reference to the series as a whole and dating in particular in the 'Summary' at the end of the paper.

TABLE OF DATES

Richard II	Ascended 22 June 1377; Deposed 29 September 1399.
Archbishops of York	(1) Alexander Neville. 1374. Translated to St. Andrews 1388. (2) Thomas Arundel. 3 April 1388. Translated to Canterbury 1396. (3) Robert Waldby. 5 October 1396. Died 6 January 1398. (4) Richard le Scrope. 2 June 1398. Died 8 June 1408.

Bishops of Durham (1) Thomas Hatfield. 1345. Died 8 May 1381.
 (2) John Fordham. 1382. Translated to Ely 1388.
 (3) Walter Skirlaw. 3 April 1388. Died 24 March 1405.

Wardens of the Mint (1) Thomas Hervy (1377).
 (2) John Gurmonchester (1377-88).
 (3) Guy Roucliff (clerk) (1388-91).
 (4) Guy Roucliff and his exors. (1391-2).
 (5) Andrew Neuport (1392-9).

Masters of the Mint (1) Gautron de Bardes (1377-91).
 (2) Nicholas Malakin, a Florentine (1395).
 (3) John Wildman (?)
 (4) Nicholas Malakin (1396).
 (5) Geoffrey Mullekyn (1396-8).

NOMENCLATURE

In nearly all current references to Richard's coins the terms 'early' and 'late' are used to form a convenient division of the coins. Those coins which have split or fish-tail serifs are called 'late' and all the coins which do not show this characteristic are grouped together as 'early'.

While admitting the correctness of calling the split-serif coins 'late' it is quite inaccurate to call *all* the remaining coins 'early', although for want of an alternative term I am reluctantly continuing to use it.

It was in fact the Brooke classification of the London half-pence into 'early' and 'late' types which first stimulated my interest in Richard's coins.

From a quantity of half-pence which I separated out into the 'early' types (i.e. those which were closely associated with the Post Treaty coins of Edward III) and the 'late' types with split-serif letters I found that I had more than half the coins left unclassified, and these should really therefore be termed 'intermediate' issues.

Method of classification

To avoid any confusion between the four types described by Mr. Potter in his paper on the groats and half-groats I have also based my classification on four main types, which on the whole conforms to his divisions.

The table which I give below will, I hope, show at a glance my main classification.

'Early' coins				'Late' coins			
Type I (Cross or lis on breast)		Type II (No mark on breast)		Type III		Type IV	
IA RICARDVS REX ANGLIE	IB RICARDVS REX ANGLIE Z. (Pellets by shoulders)	IIA With breast line.	IIb Without breast line.	Local dies	IIIA 'Coarse' bust.	IIIB 'Fine' bust.	'Bushy hair' bust.

(Note: This table is not made up to any definite time-scale.)

All the York coins bear a quatrefoil in the centre of the reverse cross and thus there are no *sede vacante* coins which can be so helpful when it comes to dating; indeed, reference to the table of dates earlier will show that there was little time lost in the appointment of a new Archbishop.

Local dies. It must be admitted that the coins from dies of local manufacture do present enormous difficulties and I do not suggest that my 'grouping' of them as opposed to a chronological classification does more than scratch the surface. Also, their exact position in the series is open to dispute, but if the evidence of the mules which are found in this series is taken at its face value, it would seem that the majority of them were struck between my types II and III, in which position I have placed them. A more detailed discussion on these coins will ensue later in the paper.

'EARLY' TYPES

Type I

This series of coins represents the largest number of dies used. Due to the similarity of the busts and the general poorness of condition, a possible sequence of use can only be obtained by noting the changing style of the letter punches. Fortunately some dies have mixed lettering before a completely new fount is noticeable, and due to a similarity of the punches used for these coins and also for the London half-pence, in several cases I was able to locate mules which I knew should exist on the York coins.

The arabic figures (1-6) which follow my main type IA 1, IA 2, &c., is not a numbering of the dies but a grouping of them into chronological order.

The numbers of obverse and reverse dies examined have as a matter of interest been included, but it must be understood that poor condition makes the counting of dies extremely difficult and my figures may not be accurate. In all cases where I was in some doubt as to the number of dies I have erred on the lower side.

Legend: RICARDVS REX ANGLIE Single or double saltire stops; lis, cross or nothing on breast.

Type IA 1 (Pl. VI. 1 and 2). *Obv.* as above. *Rev.* EBO/RACI. Early lettering, with serifs curved to follow the inner circle. *II*, *R1*, *A1*, *T1*, distinguishes these dies, and the similarity of these letters to those used on the late coins of Edward III places this series as the earliest of the reign. 3 obverse dies, 3 reverse dies.

Type IA 2 (Pl. VI. 3, 4, 5). *Obv.* as above. *Rev.* EBO/RACI. Mixed lettering. *R1* and *A1* are virtually the same, but a new *A* is seen on some dies, *A2*. The reverse lettering gives way to *T2*, *A3*. Two dies have a lis on the breast, 3 have a cross and 1 has nothing.¹ One reverse die has a pellet under the *A* of RACI. 6 obverse dies, 5 reverse dies.

Type IA 3 (Pl. VI. 6-9) *Rev.* EBOR/ACI. No new lettering really distinguishes this group of dies as mixed 1 and 2 letters are found, but the *I* is now a little more regular, *I2*. On one obverse die only an initial mark is seen similar to that on the London half-groats and was probably used in error (Pl. VI. 6). The reverse of this same coin has an extra pellet under EBOR and this same die is found with normal IA/3 obverse. On one reverse die there is a quatrefoil after ACI (Pl. VI. 7), and some dies exhibit a broken *R*, *R2*, and also a 'nicked' *A*, *A4* (Pl. VI. 8) which I shall discuss later as both these characteristics are found on London coins. At least 7 obverse dies and 8 reverse dies.

Type IA 4 (Pl. VI. 10-15). *Rev.* EBOR/ACI. Although one or two of the early letters are still seen on some dies, this group is distinguished by the introduction of new letters, noticeably *R3* and *A5*, and on one obverse die a change in the style of the bust is seen (Pl. VI. 12-13). Two coins are known from these dies but the reverses are different. *R2* is only found on the reverse of two coins. There may well be mules with the previous die group (Pl. VI. 10-11). At least 5 obverse dies with 7 reverse dies.

Type IA 5 (Pl. VI. 16). *Rev.* EBO/RACI. There is only one true coin known from this obverse die (with pellets by the shoulders) which is found muled with rev. dies of local manufacture and also with reverses of type IB and which is fully discussed under the section on mules; a new *R* (*R4*) is seen. The

¹ On only one die in the IA series; it was probably left off by mistake.

reverse die does, I think, belong to the following group of dies as all the IA 4 dies end ACI and those of IA 6 end RACI. 1 obverse die, 1 reverse die, 1 coin.

Type IA 6 (Pl. VI. 17-20). *Rev. EBO/RACI.* The busts on this group of dies are still very similar, but again a new form of *R* (*R5*) with a larger serif to the foot and a less pointed curve to the loop distinguishes this group. Two obverse dies have a lis on the breast and the remainder have a rather poorly stamped cross (possibly a trefoil?) but they are in such poor state that it is impossible to say with certainty. 6 obverse dies, 5? reverse dies.

TYPE IB (Pl. VI. 21-22). *Obv. RICARDVS^XREX^XANGLIE^XZ^X.* *Rev. CIVI/TAS/EBO/RACI.* The distinguishing features of this type are the pellets by the shoulders, the altered ending of the obverse legend and an additional pellet on the reverse under the *B* of *EBO*. The cross on the breast is clearly defined. Although the lettering is again mixed (*R1, I1, A4* are seen), the same *R* (*R4*) which is found on the obverse of IA 5 is seen on the reverses of these coins. 1 obverse die, 1 reverse die.

Type II

The dies which make up this type were almost certainly made with a considerable issue in mind. It is possible that time may show that I have been guilty of telescoping these coins into one issue and thus minimizing the length of time during which they were struck.

The chief distinguishing feature of these coins is the absence of any marks on the breast and my subdivision of them merely separates those with a breast-line and those without. The lettering is again rather mixed but no really 'early' punches are seen. Again a new *R* appears (*R6*) which, although rather more pronounced on some dies than on others is much more dumpy than *R3* (which is seen on some dies) and is easily recognizable. It is interesting to note that of the eighteen specimens of this issue which I have traced ten share an identical reverse die (no. 23 on Pl. VI) with five obverse dies.

Type IIA (Pl. VI. 23-26). *Obv. RICARDVS^XREX^XANGLIE.* *Rev.* { CIVI/
*CIVI TAS/EBO/RACI.

With line across the breast. Four different styles of bust are known.¹ 4 (possibly 5), obverse dies, 5 reverse dies.

Type IIB (Pl. VI. 27, VII. 28-29). *Obv.* and *rev.* legend as last. No line across breast. Three different styles of bust are known. 7 obverse dies, 2 reverse dies.

MULES

Having now come to the end of the 'early' series of dies we are now faced with the very large issue of coins from dies of local manufacture, but before proceeding with these coins a word must be said here about mules.

The muled coins are possibly the most interesting of the whole series, and although they would appear to connect the last of the 'early' dies and, later, the first of the late dies to the main block of local dies, it is questionable whether any reliance may be placed on the evidence which they appear to give regarding the exact position of the local dies in the series.

A table of all the mules will be given later, and also a more detailed discussion of the local dies and mules.

I listed earlier (type IA 5) a unique obverse die having a pellet at each shoulder, coupled with a reverse of type IA 4.

Until I located this coin (B.A.S. ex Lawrence) I had recorded thirteen other specimens from this obverse die, ten from three different local dies, and three from the one die of type IB.

¹ There is only one reverse die known for no. 26 and I am not convinced that the legend ends RACI; it may well be a IA 4 reverse ending ACI, and therefore a mule.

A peculiar feature of this obverse die is the second *R* in RICHARD (*R4*) which is only found at York on the reverse of the type IA coins, although it occurs on London half-pence. There is also a small flaw on the inner circle below and very slightly to the left of the cross on the breast. These features make this die immediately distinguishable, but I have looked in vain for other coins to turn up from this die without the pellets by the shoulders. As, almost without exception, the coins from local dies have pellets it is possible that they were punched into the die at a later date, possibly at York.

However, as seen earlier, the one obverse die of type IA also has pellets, and as will be seen from the list of mules below, this unique IA 5 obverse is known muled with a IB reverse.

If in fact the IB series immediately precede the local dies (as the obverse mules appear to indicate) my placing of the IIA and IIB dies would seem to be in error, except for the fact that the four coins with local obverses which have 'early' reverses are from the IIA and IIB series.

As all the letter punches which were used for the type II coins seem to be completely new, and the busts themselves from new irons, it would seem extraordinary to find an issue following these varied dies exhibiting the characteristics of the preceding dies, as it can be clearly seen from the plates that not only are all the busts of the IA and IB series similar, but the *R* and *I* of Richard on the IB coins are identical (if not from the same irons) as those on type IA 1. I am therefore convinced that my type II is correctly placed, but not so sure that new mules may not be found indicating that type IB is more nearly allied to type IA 2 than to type IA 6, as it will be seen from the lists and the plates that these are the only two die series in IA in which the reverse legend ends /RACI. It is a pity that the *R* on the reverse of type IA 5 (Pl. VI. 16) cannot be identified, for it seems certain that this obverse, and the obverse of IB, are connected by virtue of the pellets by the shoulders, but their exact position in the 'early' series must remain in some doubt, and my somewhat arbitrary division of the 'early' dies by the legend endings must stand until more evidence is available.

Mules with 'early' obverse dies

Mule 1 (Pl. VII. 30). *Obv.* Type IA 5. *Rev.* IB.*

Mule 2 (Pl. VII. 31). *Obv.* As last. *Rev.* Local; Group A1.

Mule 3 (Pl. VII. 32). *Obv.* As last. *Rev.* Local (not identified).

Mule 4 (Pl. VII. 33). *Obv.* As last. *Rev.* Local; Group B3.

Mules with local obverse dies

Mule 5 (Pl. VII. 34). *Obv.* Local; Group F1.

Mule 6 (Pl. VII. 35). *Obv.* Local; Group F2.

Mule 7 (Pl. VII. 36). *Obv.* Local; Group B (B4?).

Mule 8 (Pl. VII. 36A). *Obv.* Local; Group ?

All the reverses are from 'early' type IIA or IIB; but mules 5, 6, and 7 possibly share the same reverse die.

* Since making up the illustrations another mule has come to light, having an obverse of IA 4 and a reverse of IB.

LOCAL DIES

Of all Richard's coins, those from local dies are, perhaps, the most difficult to classify and die-link. The majority of them look as if they had a very long period of circulation, or the dies were used almost to destruction; perhaps the poor state in which the majority have survived is due to a combination of both factors. However, the few good specimens

which have survived show that, initially at any rate, a fairly faithful attempt was made to copy coins in circulation, as the Group A coins and to a lesser extent the Group B coins have a style of lettering whose counterparts can be seen on several of the 'early' dies. A similarity in the style of the busts can also be seen.

Whether the corruption of the obverse legend from ANGLIE-ANGLE-ANGILE to ANGILIE should be 'significant' is doubtful, although as there are several dies in each group they cannot be termed, as Walters terms them, 'accidental'. It would seem as if a large quantity of coins were required in a short space of time and the result was similar to a game of scandal, each die which was copied diverging further from the original.

It may, of course, be possible to see the work of at least two engravers in this series, the senior engraver being responsible for the work of the Group A dies, and also for Groups E and F, while Groups B, C, and D were copied by a less-skilled hand. It may of course be said that there is no parallel for the rendering of HYBERNIA as EB, but anyone who has read Chaucer would excuse this.

It is interesting to note that on die 3 in Group C the E and B are the wrong way round, as is the E on die 4.

I must confess that I have not had sufficient patience to identify and die-link all the reverses of the groups and the following list is merely a grouping of the coins under their obverse readings.

GROUP A (ANGLIE)

Die 1 (Pl. VII. 37). *Obv.* RICARDVS^XREX^XANGLIE^X.
Rev. As Mule 2, pellet before 'EBO.
 Die 2 (Pl. VII. 38). *Obv.* Similar, but no saltire after ANGLIE.
Rev. As last.
 Die 3 (Pl. VII. 39). *Obv.* Similar but \blacksquare (initial nos.) to r. of central fleur.
Rev. As last.
 Die 4 (Pl. VII. 40). *Obv.* Similar to die 1.
Rev. *CIVI/TAS.
 Die 5 (Pl. VII. 41). *Obv.* As last.
Rev. Similar but no pellet after TAS.
 Die 6 (Pl. VII. 42). *Obv.* Similar to die 2.
Rev. Similar,

GROUP B (ANGLE)

Die 1 (Pl. VII. 43). *Obv.* RICARDVS^XREX^XANGLE.
Rev. As Mule 2.
 Die 2 (Pl. VII. 44). *Obv.* As last.
Rev. As Mule 4.
 Die 3 (Pl. VII. 45). *Obv.* Similar but \blacksquare to l. of central fleur.
Rev. As last.
 Die 4 (Pl. VII. 46). *Obv.* Similar.
Rev. 'EBO.

GROUP C (ANGILE)

Die 1 (Pl. VII. 47). *Obv.* RICARDVS^XREX^XANGILE, \blacksquare to r. of central fleur.
Rev. 'CIVI.
 Die 2 (Pl. VII. 48). *Obv.* Similar, but \blacksquare to l. of central fleur.
Rev. CIVI.

Die 3 (Pl. VII. 49). *Obv.* Similar.

Rev. *CIVI/TAS/EBO/RACI.

Die 4 (Pl. VII. 50). *Obv.* Similar.

Rev. [CI]VI/TAS/EBO/RACI, three pellets misplaced under TAS.

Die 5 (Pl. VII. 51). *Obv.* Similar.

Rev. Similar, abo, but no misplaced pellets (2 dies known).

GROUP D (ANGILIE)

Die 1 (Pl. VII. 52). *Obv.* RICARDVS^XREX^XANGILIE.

Rev. *CIVI/TAS/EBO/RACI.

GROUP E (ANG FRAN)

Die 1 (Pl. VII. 53–55). *Obv.* RICARDVS^XREX^XANG^XFRAN

Rev. *CIVI/TAS/EBO/RACI

} I illustrate all 3 known coins from this pair
of dies.

Die 2 (Pl. VIII. 56). *Obv.* [RICARDVS^XRE] X^XANGL[FRAN][?]¹

Rev. Different to last, no * before civi.

GROUP F (DNS EB)

Die 1. *Obv.* RICARD: REX: ANGL: DNS EB²

Rev. As Mule 14 (Pl. VIII. 69).

Die 2. *Obv.* Similar but no stops (see Mule 6, Pl. VII. 35).

Correct local reverse unknown.

MISCELLANEOUS DIES

Although I have examined more than sixty coins from local dies there are only seven coins which I have been unable to assign to one of my groups due to the poorness of the condition. I illustrate them here in the hope that other coins may help to group them at a later date.

Miscellaneous dies 1–7 (Pl. VIII. 57–63).

LATE TYPES

Type III

After the large and varied series of coins from dies of local manufacture, it would seem that the London mint was again in a position to supply dies.

These new late coins are, however, strikingly different from any of the preceding issues and are identified immediately by the new letters with split or fish-tail serifs. On both types IIIA and IIIB the obverse legend reads RICARD^XREX^XANGL^XS^XFRAN and therefore must be considered as a simultaneous issue to the groats and half-groats with fish-tail letters which now emanate from London.

The form of the crown also changes on this type to one smaller and flatter than seen hitherto, and the shortness of the central fleur is most noticeable. My division of this

¹ I think that this obverse must end FRAN as there is too much room after the L of ANGL and the last letter looks as if it may be an N; the only other ending it might be is DNS EB but I do not really think so.

² Walters gives this obverse reading as DNS ED and is obviously copying Neck. The superb Lockett specimen (photo sheet 66) confirms that it is DNS EB. This

coin is unique in being the only 'true' DNS EB coin known (i.e. local obverse and reverse). The obverse die as I have shown is muled with an 'early' reverse and the reverse die is muled with a late obverse. It is therefore the only coin which directly connects the 'early', local and late dies. I am sorry that I was unable to illustrate this interesting coin.

group into A and B is due to the two styles of bust which are quite apparent even on comparatively worn coins. The coins of group A I have called 'coarse bust', and those of group B 'fine bust', and the reasons for this can clearly be seen from the illustrations.

The reverses of all the group III coins now revert to EBOR/ACI and exhibit without exception a most extraordinary 'mark' after TAS. This mark has been previously described as a scallop; indeed a scallop does appear on some of the gold coins which may possibly be attributed to the same period, but other marks such as the lion and lis were used which were certainly not used on the York pence. F. A. Walters (*NC* 1904) admits that on most coins it is rather indistinct, but states that he had in his possession a perfectly struck coin and he seems to be fairly certain that it is a scallop.¹ Walters also states that he could find nothing in the arms of the four archbishops to account for the scallop and says: '... I am ... regrettably obliged to confess that it had probably no more meaning than the special mark of a certain die-engraver or mint official.'

I must confess that I have taken a rather different view of this 'mark', and although there is only one coin on which it can be seen really well (Ash. Mus.) I am disinclined to continue to call it a scallop. An enlargement is illustrated on Pl. VIII. 76. I cannot of course say from which position it should be viewed but it does appear to have a short stem pointing towards the limb of the cross, and the 'mark' itself to consist of three separate parts, cleft in the middle, and is more like a trefoil than a scallop. On some coins which may have been struck later in the life of the die this regular trefoil-like form disintegrates and resembles a flaming sun (e.g. Pl. VIII. 70).

Whatever it is, and whatever its purpose, will probably never be known, and it must be considered as just one of the many things which make the medieval series so very interesting. There is, however, one thing which has occurred to me which may explain its presence, but without any substantive evidence it must remain a theory. If it was intended to be a sun it can possibly be explained in Richard's new interest in pomp and heraldry during the last year of his reign, when he adopted the rising sun as a personal emblem.²

Before proceeding with descriptions of the type III coins I list below the mules which connect this type with the local series.

Mules with local obverse dies

Mule 9 (Pl. VIII. 64). *Obv.* of Group B (ANGLE) *Rev.*
 Mule 10 (Pl. VIII. 65). *Obv.* Die F I. (DNS EB) *Rev.*
 Mule 11 (Pl. VIII. 66). *Obv.* Unidentified. (ANGL . . .) *Rev.* } All the reverses are identical and are
 type III, die I.

Mules with late obverse dies

Mule 12 (Pl. VIII. 67). *Obv.* Type IIIA die 1. *Rev.* } Both reverses are identical and are from 'early'
 Mule 13 (Pl. VIII. 68). *Obv.* Type IIIA die 1. *Rev.* } IIa or IIb coins.
 Mule 14 (Pl. VIII. 69). *Obv.* Type IIIA die 1. *Rev.* Local die. Group F, die 1.

While on the subject of mules, this would seem a good opportunity to qualify my earlier statement that the mule evidence may prove to be misleading.

¹ It is a pity that Walters did not illustrate this fine coin.

² Throughout his reign Richard had been very proud of his white hart badge, eighty different designs of which can be seen in Westminster Hall, the building of which occupied his interest for many years. About

Christmas 1398 the rising sun was adopted as a badge and to have this put on his coins is much more likely when considering his grandiose ways, haughty manner, and state of mind at this time than to dismiss the theory by asking why he did not put the white hart emblem on his earlier coins.

When Walters wrote on Richard II he described having seen coins from local dies having the 'mark' described earlier on the reverse. These coins he took to be entirely from local dies. I must confess, however, that it is remarkable that I have been unlucky in not seeing one of these coins, and this fact leads me to think that the coins which Walters saw, although certainly from local obverse dies, had in fact late reverse dies and were mules.

There is little doubt the three mules which I have just listed (Pl. VIII. 64-66) have extremely worn, though definitely recognizable, late reverses.

Why these two reverses appear to have been used when, apparently, in such poor state is inexplicable, as the pure late coins all seem to have been struck from dies which were in fairly good order.

A further point of interest is the fact that one of the late obverse dies is found muled with an 'early' reverse which was obviously used in poor condition. Also noticeable is the crack in the obverse die which runs from the A of RICARD right across the die level with the eyes. This cracked die is not found used with a normal late reverse. As previously stated I have taken the evidence which the mules as a whole seem to offer at their face value, hence my placing of the local dies between the 'early' and late series, and not at the very end of the reign which has been the previously accepted place for them. A secondary, but equally important, reason for doing this is the fact that no mules are known involving the type IIIb or IV coins, which might have been expected if the local dies occurred at the end of the reign.

Despite the mule evidence it is just possible that the local coins were struck at the very end of the reign from any old dies which the coiner at York could lay his hands on and press into service. If this did in fact happen I do not think that it would greatly affect my sequence of issue of the coins from London made dies, but it would render valueless all the evidence which the mules appear to give, and would necessitate the grouping of all the local dies and their attendant mules immediately following my type IV.

Type IIIA

Type IIIA. Die 1. *Obv.* 'Coarse' bust. Die cracked across level with eyes. RICARD²REX²ANGL²Z²FRAN
Rev. Only known die is from the 'early' IIa or IIb series (*vide* Mules 12, 13).

Type IIIA. Die 2. *Obv.* 'Coarse' bust as last, but no die crack.
Rev. CIVI/TAS²/EBOR/ACI²

Apart from the crack in the die I have been unable to find any points of difference between these dies and have only listed them separately for easy distinction.

Type IIIB

Type IIIB. Die 1. *Obv.* 'Fine' bust RICARD²REX²ANGL²Z²FRAN

Rev. Die A. CIVI/TAS²/EBOR/ACI²

Rev. Die B. Similar, no saltires after ACI.

Rev. Die C. Similar, but 1 of ACI nearer to limb of cross.

It is just possible that there are two obverse dies because on some coins the shoulders appear to be set at a slight angle to the right giving the impression that the head is not set straight, but I think that this is an illusion caused by the spreading through wear of the right shoulder. There is also a very slight thickening of the inner circle between the

¹ ? = The 'mark', scallop or trefoil found after TAS on all the type III coins.

A and N of ANGL which occurs on all specimens and which, curiously enough, occurs on the IIIA obverses and which caused me to think at one time that the obverse dies IIIA and IIIB were identical and that the 'fine' bust of type IIIB was the result of the die having been retouched or re-engraved.

There is little doubt that the same irons were used to make all the type III dies. Another feature which shows clearly the similarity of these dies is the fact that on all the reverses the top arm of the cross meets the quatrefoil slightly to the right of the lower arm.

All these type III coins have a cross on the breast, although on some coins it more resembles what is often referred to as a slipped trefoil.

Type IV

This last issue of coins at York is immediately recognizable by the hair which appears to puff out at either side of the head.

The lettering too is from different punches from those used for the previous issues and for the last time the obverse and reverse legends change. The crown also is rather more spread out than that seen on the type III coins. I have only been able to trace four¹ of these extremely rare coins, and they appear to be the product of three obverse and three reverse dies.

Although I cannot read with certainty the obverse legend of the British Museum specimen (Pl. VIII. 79) it is certainly from a different die to the other three coins. There are no marks on the breast.

These coins are interesting from many points of view. In the first place they would appear to be related to the issue of late London groats and half-groats which have a crescent on the breast,² as the style of lettering, bust, and the position of the hair is similar.

Furthermore, the first I in RICARD on die 1 can be clearly seen to have a break on the bottom right-hand foot, and this identical punch was used on the crescent half-groat. This broken I punch is also used on the late London pence reading RICARD^{VS}REX^{VS}ANGLIE (*vide BNJ xxix, pl. xx*), and also on the reverse of the unique Henry IV light penny of London with pellet and annulet by the bust which I published in vol. xxx of this *Journal*.³

Type IV (Pl. VIII. 77). *Obv.* Die 1. RICARD^{VS}REX^{VS}ANGLIE
Rev. Die A. CIVI/TAS/EBO/RACI

Type IV (Pl. VIII. 78). *Obv.* Die 1. As last.
Rev. Die B. CIVI/TAS²/EBO/RACI

Type IV (Pl. VIII. 79). *Obv.* Die 2. Similar.
Rev. Die C. Similar.

Type IV (Pl. VIII. 80). *Obv.* Die 3. RICARDVS^{VS}REX^{VS}ANGL^{VS}Z^{VS}F^{VS}
Rev. of Die A.

¹ Since writing this two specimens have turned up, one, R. C. Lockett coll., uncatalogued, which is a die duplicate to that in the collection of Mr. C. E. Blunt, two, a specimen in the BM erroneously ticketed and placed under Henry IV.

² The half-groat with the crescent on the breast was

unknown to Mr. Potter when he wrote his paper.

³ Although not suggested at the time, I thought that the reverse of this coin may have been one of Richard's: this evidence of the broken I punch makes me even more sure that it is, especially as I have also seen it on a recently examined late type half-noble of Richard II.

Pl. VI.	6. Early Type IA 3. Note i.m.	BM	9
Pl. VII.	7. , " IA 3. Note quatrefoil	BM	
	8. , " IA 3. Note R and A	B. A. S.	
	9. , " IA 3	C. E. B.	
	10. , " Mule IA 4/IA 3	B. A. S.	
	11. , " Mule IA 4/IA 3	B. A. S.	
	12. , " IA 4. Note the bust	E. J. W.	
	13. , " IA 4. Note the bust	C. E. B.	
	14. , " IA 4	B. A. S.	
	15. , " IA 4	B. A. S.	
	16. , " IA 5. Rev. IA 6?	B. A. S.	
Pl. VIII.	17. , " IA 6. Lis on breast	YM	
	18. , " IA 6. Lis on breast	E. J. W.	
	19. , " IA 6	C. E. B.	
	20. , " IA 6	C. E. B.	
	21. , " IB. Note new legend ending	C. E. B.	
	22. , " IB. Note new legend ending	B. A. S.	
	23. , " IIA. Bust 1	A. H. B.	
	24. , " IIA. Bust 2	E. J. W.	
	25. , " IIA. Bust 3	BM	
	26. , " IIA. Bust 4	C. E. B.	
Pl. IX.	27. , " IIB. Bust 1	C. E. B.	
	28. , " IIB. Bust 2	Bel. M.	
	29. , " IIB. Bust 3	D. M.	
	30. Mule 1. <i>Obv.</i> IA 1. <i>Rev.</i> IB	YM	
	31. Mule 2. <i>Obv.</i> IA 1. <i>Rev.</i> Local, Group A 1	B. A. S.	
	32. Mule 3. <i>Obv.</i> IA 1. <i>Rev.</i> Local (unidentified)	A. H. B.	
	33. Mule 4. <i>Obv.</i> IA 1. <i>Rev.</i> Local, Group A 5	Bel. M.	
	34. Mule 5. <i>Obv.</i> Local, Group F 1. <i>Rev.</i> From Early Type II	C. E. B.	
	35. Mule 6. <i>Obv.</i> Local, Group F 2. <i>Rev.</i> From Early Type II	B. A. S.	
	36. Mule 7. <i>Obv.</i> Local, Group B die. <i>Rev.</i> From Early Type II	BM	
	36A. Mule 8. <i>Obv.</i> Local, Group A. die. <i>Rev.</i> From Early Type II	Ash. M.	
Pl. X.	37. Local Dies. Group A, die 1	R. C. B.	
	38. , " Group A, die 2	B. A. S.	
	39. , " Group A, die 3	R. C. B.	
	40. , " Group A, die 4	B. A. S.	
	41. , " Group A, die 5	Bel. M.	
	42. , " Group A, die 6	YM	
	43. , " Group B, die 1	Dr. B.	
	44. , " Group B, die 2	E. J. W.	
	45. , " Group B, die 3	BM	
	46. , " Group B, die 4	C. E. B.	
Pl. XI.	47. , " Group C, die 1	YM	
	48. , " Group C, die 2	YM	
	49. , " Group C, die 3	YM	
	50. , " Group C, die 4	E. J. W.	
	51. , " Group C, die 5	R. C. B.	
	52. , " Group D, die 1	BM	
	53. , " Group E, die 1	B. A. S.	
	54. , " Group E, die 1	A. H. B.	
	55. , " Group E, die 1	G. V. D.	
	56. , " Group E, die 2	B. A. S.	

										Number of coins examined
Pl. VIII. 57.	Local. Miscellaneous	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	YM	1
58.	"	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	YM	1
59.	"	3	.	.	.	.	.	.	BM	1
60.	"	4	.	.	.	.	.	.	BM	1
61.	"	5	.	.	.	.	.	.	BM	1
62.	"	6	.	.	.	.	.	.	Dr. B.	1
63.	"	7	.	.	.	.	.	.	B. A. S.	1
64.	Mule 9. <i>Obv.</i> Local, Group B. <i>Rev.</i> From Type III	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	C. E. B.	1
65.	Mule 10. <i>Obv.</i> Local, Group F 1. <i>Rev.</i> From Type III	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	B. A. S.	1
66.	Mule 11. <i>Obv.</i> Local (unidentified) <i>Rev.</i> From Type III	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	BM	1
67.	Mule 12. <i>Obv.</i> Type IIIA die 1. <i>Rev.</i> From Early Type II	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	C. E. B.	1
68.	Mule 13. <i>Obv.</i> Type IIIA die 1. <i>Rev.</i> From Early Type II	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	R. C. B.	1
69.	Mule 14. <i>Obv.</i> Type IIIA die 1. <i>Rev.</i> Local, Group F die 1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	C. E. B.	1
70.	Late Type IIIA die 2 <i>obv.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	E. J. W.	1
71.	" IIIA die 2 <i>obv.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	B. A. S.	1
72.	" IIIA die 2 <i>obv.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	Ash. M.	13
73.	" IIIB. <i>Obv.</i> Die 1. <i>Rev.</i> Die A	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	R. C. B.	6
74.	" IIIB. <i>Obv.</i> Die 1. <i>Rev.</i> Die B	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	YM	1
75.	" IIIB. <i>Obv.</i> Die 1. <i>Rev.</i> Die C	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	YM	6
76.	" Enlargement of 'mark' on no. 72.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
77.	" IV. <i>Obv.</i> Die 1. <i>Rev.</i> Die A	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	E. J. W.	1
78.	" IV. <i>Obv.</i> Die 1. <i>Rev.</i> Die B	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	C. E. B.	1
79.	" IV. <i>Obv.</i> Die 2. <i>Rev.</i> Die C	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	BM	1
80.	" IV. <i>Obv.</i> Die 3. <i>Rev.</i> Die A	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	YM	1
<i>Minimum no. of coins examined</i>										181

KEY TO CONTRIBUTORS

Ash. M.	= Ashmolean Museum.	R. C. B.	= R. Carlyon-Britton (decd.).
A. H. B.	= A. H. Baldwin and Sons.	G. V. D.	= G. V. Doubleday.
Bel. M.	= Belfast Museum.	D. M.	= D. Mangakis.
C. E. B.	= C. E. Blunt.	B. A. S.	= B. A. Seaby Ltd.
BM	= British Museum.	E. J. W.	= E. J. Winstanley.
Dr. B.	= Dr. E. Burstall.	YM	= Yorkshire Museum.

PART II. LONDON AND DURHAM—SUMMARY

LONDON HALF-PENCE

As I have dealt with the York dies in some detail it will be unnecessary to treat the London half-pence similarly as the two are parallel issues, and with the exception of the York dies Ib and the local dies which have no parallel at London all the half-pence can be grouped chronologically by referring to the illustrated York coins and to the lettering chart.¹

Before making specific reference to the main types, two points of interest deserve mention. The first is the occurrence of 'broken' letters.

¹ I have not drawn letters found on types III and IV as they are quite distinctive and are clearly seen on the photographs.

The letter R (R2) will clearly be seen to have a break, or V nick almost at the top of the upright, and the letter A (A4) is 'nicked' nearly at the bottom of the left-hand leg.

That these are privy marks is indicated by the fact that no effort appears to have been made to mend the punches which would have been the case with a broken punch, furthermore, it would seem that these 'nicked' punches were used for a succession of similar dies over a fairly short period. Their exact purpose, however, can only be speculative if they are not privy marks, but it may be significant that these letters only occur on dies in the groups IA 2 and IA 3, principally the latter, which together account for more than a third of the surviving specimens.

The nicked R is found on all other denominations of the above-mentioned die groups with the exception of the farthing. Although I have not made any real attempt to die-link the half-pence it is plain that the intermediate issues covering types IA 2-IA 6 were struck from a large number of dies in a comparatively short space of time.

The second point touches the question of mules.

The recorded mules of the London half-pence show a structure not dissimilar to the York pence, where, at first, it was most surprising to find mules connecting the early coins of type I with the very much later issues of type III. London mules, however, go one better as types I and IV are found muled.

As the Tower mint was responsible for the manufacture of all the dies this curious muling of the early and late issues would not seem to indicate a shortage of silver (which there most certainly was between 1391 and 1396) but a shortage of dies, brought about possibly by the input of silver to the mint jumping from just under £200 to nearly £1,200 within a single year (1396), and catching the engravers unawares. Hence the necessity of finding any old die that could be pressed into service. This certainly strengthens the assumption that types III and IV can be dated to the final years of the reign, but other implications regarding dating will be found in the summary at the end.

Early and Intermediate types (types I and II)

Early Type. *Obv. RICARD REX ANGL. Rev. CIVITAS LONDON.* (Pl. IX. 1)

The N's are reversely barred and there is a contraction mark over the last N. The stops are double saltires. This is the only type of half-pence on which a breast decoration is found and may be either an annulet or a saltire. The lettering on this type conforms to type IA 1.

Intermediate Type. *Obv. RICARD REX ANGL. Rev. CIVITAS LONDON.* (Lombardic N's.)

Roman N's correctly barred are found on one small group (a specimen illustrated, Pl. IX. 2). With this single exception the remainder of the Intermediate dies, covering Types IA 2 to IA 6 and type II have Lombardic N's on the reverse. The stops are either single or double saltires, single or double pellets or wedge and saltires.

As mentioned earlier, from this group of dies the largest surviving number of specimens is found, all of which bear the lettering of their York counterparts, although at London the lettering is rather more intermixed making the individual die grouping which was easy at York a little more difficult, hence my grouping of the dies into a single 'Intermediate' type.

Pl. IX. 3, 4, 5 illustrate typical examples of the die groups IA 2 and 3 showing the broken R which typify this group; the nicked A which is clearly seen is also found in later groups. It will be noticed that the obverses of nos. 4 and 5 (particularly the latter) appear to have been struck from rusty dies.

Pl. IX. 6 and 7 illustrate examples of type IA 4 and IA 6 (separated at York chiefly on account of the altered ending of the reverse inscription), and Pl. IX. 8 is the London counterpart of the unique (York) type IA 5 die with pellets by the shoulders, which do not, of course, occur here. But the strange tail of the R (R4, which is best seen on the mules, Pl. VII. 30, 31) make this die immediately recognizable. It will be recalled that the die group IB (*obv. ends ANGL Z*) is not represented at London, but as this particular R is found on the reverse of these coins it may be fairly argued that type IA 5 and IB are represented by the halfpenny I have illustrated.

Pl. IX. 9, representing types II A and B (separated at York only by some dies showing a breast line and some not) bring this series of intermediate dies to an end.

As the London mules involve the type IV coins they will be listed later.

Late Types (types III and IV)

Type III. Series 1 (Pl. IX. 10, 11, 12). *Obv. RICARD REX ANGL. Rev. CIVITAS LONDON.* Stops are either double saltires, or wedge and saltire.

Series 2 (Pl. IX. 13, 14, 15, 16). *Obv. RICARD REX ANGL F. Rev. As last.*

The most distinguishing feature of the London half-pence corresponding to type III is the use of tall thin lettering with split, or 'fish-tail' serifs. Only minute differences in the style of the busts are noticed as opposed to the York coins which have strikingly different features which enabled me to sub-group them into A and B.

Type IV. Series 1. *Obv. RICARD REX ANGLI (Pl. IX. 17).* } *Rev. As last.*
Series 2. *Obv. RICARD REX ANGL (Pl. IX. 18, 19, 20).* }

This is the last of the London half-pence, and perhaps the most interesting. The chief distinguishing features of this type are the somewhat thicker and dumpier lettering and a taller and thinner bust with realistic hair curling away from the face. These coins are exactly similar in style to the very rare York pence of this class and also the London groats and half-groats with a crescent on the breast.

They have too the 'nicked' letter I (clearly seen on the York pence) to which I have referred earlier in respect of this class, a feature by itself which must surely prove that all the type IV dies were made more or less together, and terminate the product of the Mint under Richard II.

Mules. The following are the mules I have recorded although doubtless more exist; as mentioned earlier, no mules are to be expected of type IB and the local dies which are peculiar to York.

1. (Pl. IX. 21.) *Obv. Type IA 1. Rev. Type IA 2.*
Note the annulet on the breast.
2. (Pl. IX. 22.) *Obv. Type IA 1. Rev. Type IV.*
Note the annulet on the breast; ? the same die as last. The reverse clearly shows the typical dumpy lettering of type IV and the last I of CIVI has the familiar 'nick' in the bottom right-hand serif.
3. (Pl. IX. 23.) *Obv. Type IA 3. Rev. Type IV.*
The obverse is a typical die of this group showing the 'nicked' A in RICARD; note how rusty the die appears.
4. (Pl. IX. 24.) *Obv. Type IA 6. Rev. Type IV.*
5. (Pl. IX. 25.) *Obv. Type II. Rev. Type IV.*
Identification of the obverse die is made certain by the clear striking of the second R in RICARD
—R6.

Also recorded but not illustrated are mules connecting the following types.

6. *Obv.* Type IA 3. *Rev.* Type IA 1. (Reversely barred N's.)
7. *Obv.* Type II. *Rev.* Type IA 3.
8. *Obv.* Type IA 3. *Rev.* Type III.
9. *Obv.* Type IV. *Rev.* Type IA series; exact die group uncertain.

This last mule is interesting as the obverse is known with a normal type IV reverse.

On the whole the mules of the half-pence are quite rare, only about a dozen or so being recorded to date.

It may be opportune to say here that no indication of rarity should be inferred from the numbers of coins which I have chosen to illustrate my types; I have chosen coins which together best serve to illustrate a particular die group.

It may be interesting to note that the half-pence of type IV are twice as rare as those of type III, and of the type III coins only about 1 in 3 have the obverse legend ending ANGL F. Types III and IV together account for about one-third of the surviving specimens.

LONDON PENCE

London pence are the second rarest of all Richard's surviving coins. I have been unable to locate any London pence corresponding to types II and III. The chief characteristics of the pence of type I and IV are as follows.

1. (Pl. IX. 26.) Type IA 2. *Obv.* RICARDVS REX ANGLIE
Rev. CIVITAS LONDON. (Reversely barred N's.)
2. (Pl. IX. 27.) Type IA 4. *Obv.* RICARD (vs?) REX ANGL Z FRAC [sic]
Rev. As last.

Note the typical 'nicked' A on the obverse; there is also a lis on the breast. Note also the D of DON on the reverse, this is from the same punch with the 'hole' or flaw in the centre of the curve which is found on the Durham and York pence mentioned earlier.

3. Another specimen (not illustrated here) very similar to the last is illustrated in *BNJ* vol. xxix, pl. xx. 27, and appears to be from a slightly later series of obverse irons. It reads RICARD REX ANGL Z FRANC. The reverse is similar to last.
4. (Pl. IX. 28.) Type IA 6. *Obv.* RICARDVS REX ANGLIE. *Rev.* Similar to last.
5. (Pl. IX. 29.) Type IV. *Obv.* RICARD REX ANGLIE. *Rev.* CIVITAS LONDON. (Lombardic N's.)

The lettering on these type IV coins corresponds in every detail to the other coins which I have attributed to this final type. The coin illustrated here also depicts the 'nicked' t.

In the *Transactions of the International Numismatic Congress, 1936*, C. E. Blunt publishes a mule of this type with the name RICARD mutilated on the coin; the reverse is a die of the heavy coinage of Henry IV. This coin is interesting as the obverse is also known with a regular type IV reverse. A coin which I published in *BNJ* vol. xxx as a unique penny of the light coinage of Henry IV having a pellet to the left and an annulet to the right of the head, is, I am certain, a mule, the reverse being of Richard II type IV, chiefly by virtue of the 'nicked' t punch. These two coins would appear to be the only links known between the pence of Richard II and Henry IV.

DURHAM PENCE

The known pence of Durham, the rarest of all the coins of Richard II, can almost be counted on the fingers of both hands.

They appear to be the product of one obverse and two reverse dies.

1. *Obv. RICARDVS REX ANGLIE* (a) *CIVITAS DVNOLM* (Pl. IX. 30).
(b) **CIVITAS DVNOLM* (Pl. IX. 31).

These coins correspond exactly to type IA 4, the D with the flaw in the curve being clearly seen on the York pence of the same type (Pl. IX. 10, 11, 12) as well as on the London pence (Pl. IX. 27) and on the groats and half-groats of the same type.

LONDON FARTHINGS

These tiny coins, only fractionally commoner than the Durham pence, all seem to have been struck from dies made at roughly the same time, that is, if one can accept the fact that the change in the style of lettering from early to the late fish-tail lettering would have been apparent on the farthings. All the coins I have examined, including the exceptionally rare variety with roses instead of the usual three pellets in the angles of the reverse cross, would seem to have flat serifs and conform to the early styles of types I and II; the similarity in the style of the busts and crowns would also seem to confirm this.

Series 1. (Pl. IX. 32.) *Obv. RICARDVS REX ANGL. Rev. CIVITAS LONDON*

Series 2. (Pl. IX. 33, 34, 35.) *Obv. RICARD REX ANGL. Rev. As last.*

Series 3. (Pl. IX. 36.) *Obv. RICARD REX ANGL. Rev. As last, but roses in the angles of the cross.*

Note. J. J. North in *English Hammered Coinage*, vol. 2, quotes a specimen with rose after REX.

The stops on all the coins would seem to be double pellets, a feature common to the half-penny dies which occur towards the end of the IA series. Failing the location of new coins one cannot be more precise.

In order to facilitate examination of the farthings I have illustrated them twice natural size.

SUMMARY

From the purely practical point of view, I hope that the information in the preceding pages will assist students and collectors in classifying and arranging their coins in the order of issue.

The object of this summary is to examine the documentary evidence to see if a satisfactory answer can be given to the question of dating the coins.

The Documentary Evidence

1. London. (a) The silver bullion figures as published by Miss E. Stokes in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1929, and which I reproduce here in dia-grammatic form. (Fig. 3.)
(b) The various Petitions to Parliament regarding the need for small silver; published in the *Annals of the Coinage* by the Rev. Rogers Ruding, whose chief sources were the Rolls of Parliament and Rymer's *Foedera*.
2. Durham. (a) In 1384, two years after the accession of Bishop John Fordham 'the Barons of the Exchequer were commanded to receive from Bishop John the old dies which Thomas (Hatfield) his predecessor had for coining money within the Royal liberty of Durham and to deliver him new dies, i.e. three standards and six trussels'.

(b) Ratification of the privileges of coining in respect of Bishop Skirlaw in 1392, i.e. four years after his consecration.

3. York. (a) Dies were ordered for Archbishop Neville in 1375 (the year following his consecration) and again in the first year of the reign of Richard II.

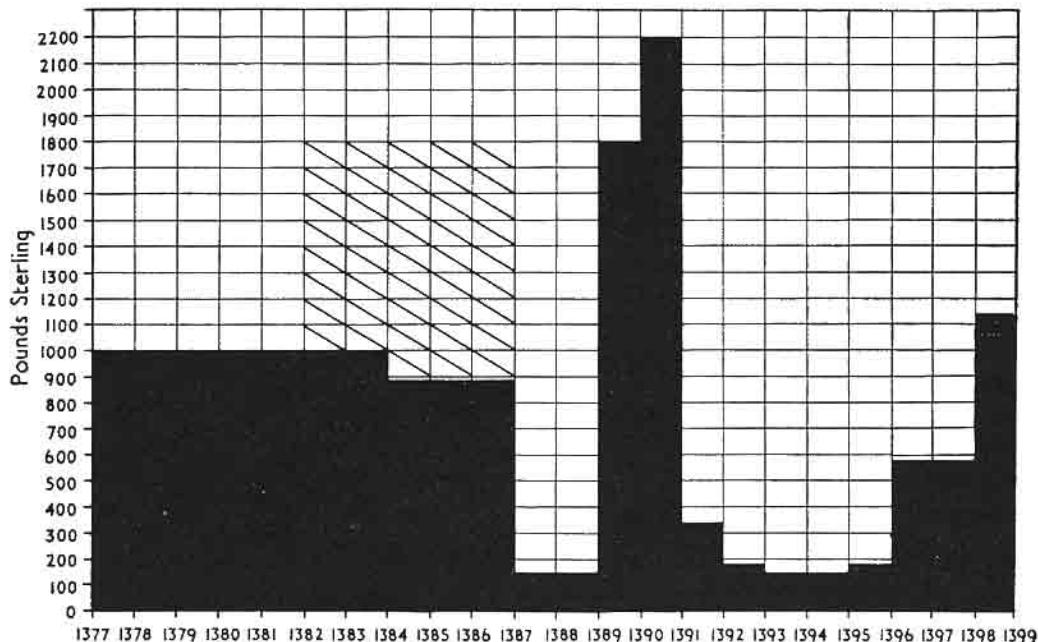


FIG. 3.

Although the surviving evidence of the individual mints is meagre, taken as a whole I think the various pieces of the jig-saw can be made to fit together, and I must here emphasize again that mention of individual types refer to issues from similar dies at all three mints.

That the coins of types IA 2 and 3 represent the first big issue of the reign is undeniable and while it is tempting to ascribe them to the huge issues of 1389-91 there are insufficient coins from earlier dies to account for the £9,697 worth of silver coined during the first ten years. An earlier date must therefore be looked for.

The bullion figures for the individual years 1377-87 are not known and the chart merely indicates the yearly average, approximately £1,000 per year for the first seven years and just under £900 per year for the next three.

In view of the Petitions made to Parliament it is more than likely that half-pence in quantity were not made earlier than 1382. There is no real reason to suppose that the striking of these coins took place straight away, as half-pence had not been coined at the Tower mint since 1369, and there would presumably have been no dies immediately available which could be altered to serve as a stop-gap.

The Petition of 1378/9 stated that silver and gold was not being brought to the mint and that the country needed half-pence and farthings. The reply received stated that they would be made as soon as the king had bullion for the purpose.

Another Petition dated 1380 again echoed the lack of half-pence and farthings and suggested that of every pound weight three-quarters should be made into half-pence and farthings.

The reply to this Petition stated that a certain quantity should be made for the ease of the people and with the advice of the Council.

Another Petition in 1381 represented the kingdom as being in a state of wretched want.

No answer to this was received and another Petition later the same year was presented by the officers of the Mint in the Tower of London. This stated that no money, either gold or silver, was made in the Tower, to the damage of the king and the people. The first Petition of 1381 was renewed on the 13th of December when a favourable reply was received; no doubt influenced by the document presented by the officers of the Mint.

Petitions now cease until 1393 when half-pence and farthings were again needed and the king replied that they should be made.

It would therefore appear that virtually no coins were struck until 1382 (and the rarity of type IA 1 testifies to this) and this would have the effect on the bullion chart of doubling the amount shown for the years 1382-7.

The peak issues shown for the years 1389-91 on the chart would now appear less significant.

I therefore suggest that the IA 2-3 dies initiated the coinage period 1382-7 and the remainder of the IA dies followed.

I think that the bulk of the bullion coined in the 'peak' years 1389-91 was made into groats and half-groats and not into half-pence for two reasons.

1. The largest number of surviving groats and half-groats correspond to the last of my type IA dies.
2. If the 'peak' of 1389-91 consisted of half-pence there should have been no need for the Petition of 1393.

I think that the bulk of any half-pence struck during 1389-91 were made from old dies and this would account for the fact that approximately one-sixth of the IA 2-3 coins appear to have been struck from rusty dies, and many of the later coins in the IA group show damage not entirely accounted for by wear.

During the period 1391-6 only about £1,000 worth of coins was struck altogether and to this period I would ascribe the coins of type II which are very rare at both London and York.

The coins of types III and IV can safely be assigned to the final years 1396-9, a period during which £2,320 worth of coins were struck. As far as the half-pence are concerned these last two types probably followed closely upon each other as both types are intimately muled with the IA dies. If the foregoing is correct the following facts emerge regarding the ecclesiastical mints.

1. Durham. The surviving coins correspond exactly to type IA 4; the D with the flaw in the centre of the curve, mentioned earlier, being clearly seen on the York and London coins of the same type, all of which die-link into the IA 3 dies which I date to the first two years or so of the period 1382-7. The fact that dies were ordered for Bishop John Fordham in 1384 would seem to indicate his being responsible for these coins. Although ratification of the right to coin was granted to Bishop Skirlaw in 1392 no coins other than

those of type IA 4 are known, and I should confidently expect any new coins which may come to light to correspond either to types II, III, or IV, preferably the first named.

2. York. To Archbishop Neville can be ascribed all the type IA and IB coins. The tenancy of York between 1388-96 was held by Thomas Arundel, and it is during this period that I have given the coins of type II.

It was probably during the lean years at London (1391-6) that suspension of the manufacture of dies for York occurred, or alternatively it was necessary greatly to supplement the amount of coins which could be struck from the dies supplied by the Tower. The very large issues from dies of local manufacture are the result. One may speculate if the need for a large number of coins during this period has any relation to the fact that Archbishop Arundel contributed £1,000 towards Richard's Irish campaign of 1394; it is significant that some of the coins have the Irish title *DNS EB* (see Pl. II. 34, 35).

To Archbishops Waldby (5 Oct. 1396–6 Jan. 1398) and Scrope (2 June 1398–6 June 1408) can be ascribed the coins of types III and IV although it seems unlikely that, due to the unsettled state of the country during the final months, Richard le Scrope would have received dies of his own. If he was responsible for striking any coins he probably continued to use the dies of his predecessor.

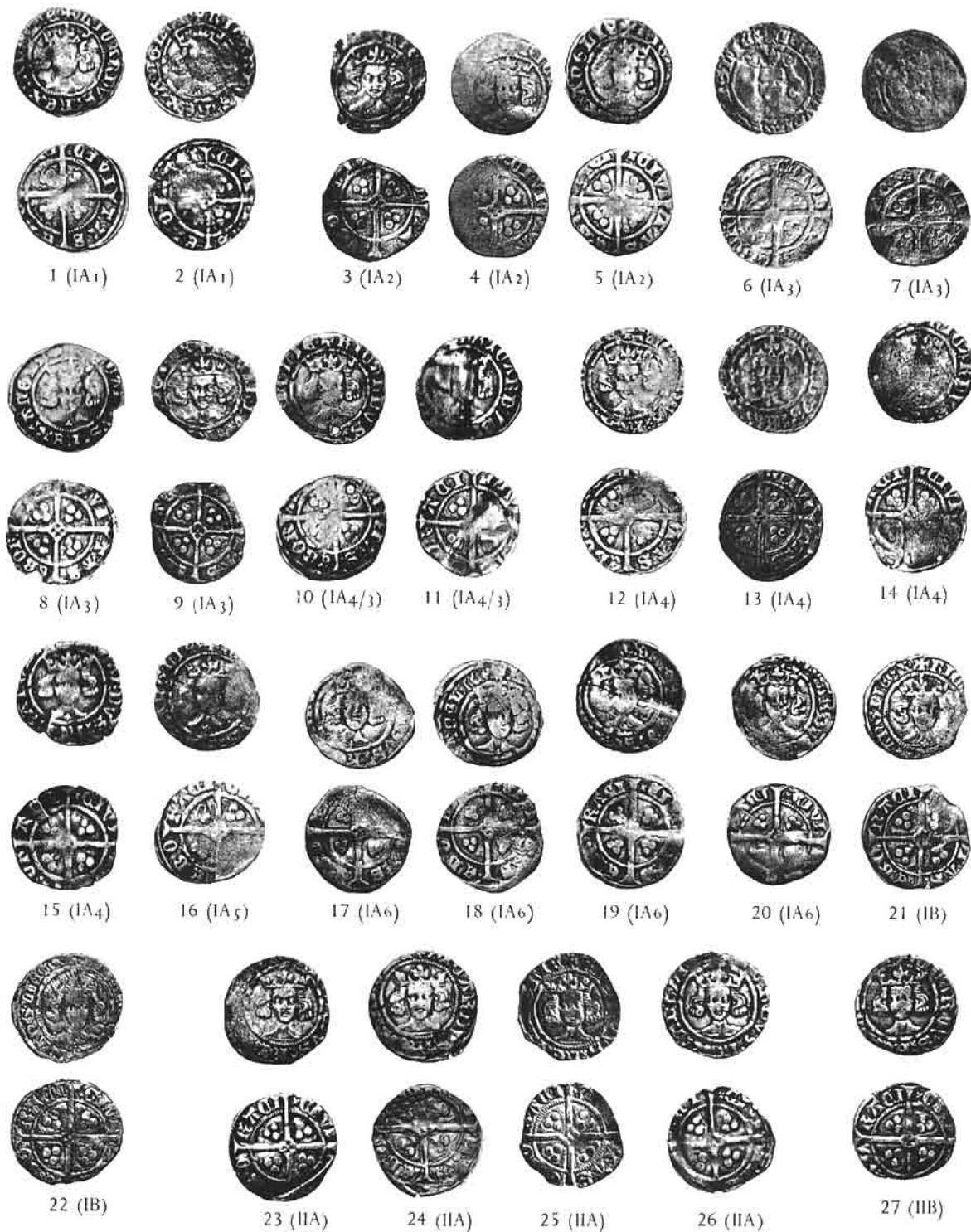
In conclusion may I express my pleasure in being able to provide a new classification and to record hitherto unpublished types of a reign in the medieval series whose kings have received the attention of such notable numismatists as the Fox brothers, L. A. Lawrence, C. E. Blunt, and C. A. Whitton. I should also like to record my grateful thanks to all those who assisted me both in supplying coins and casts and in proffering advice. In particular I should like to mention the names of C. E. Blunt and Dr. E. J. Harris.

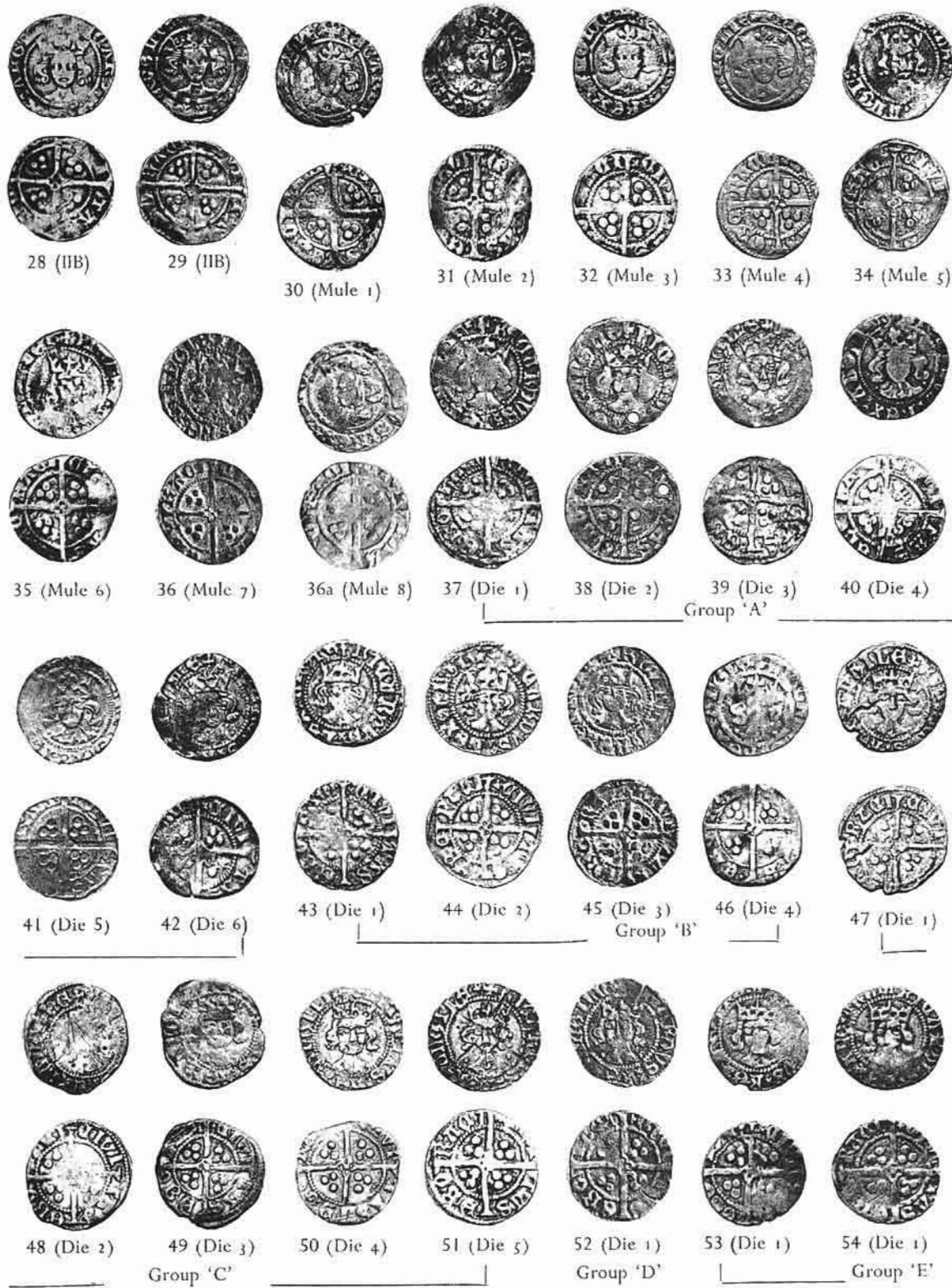
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

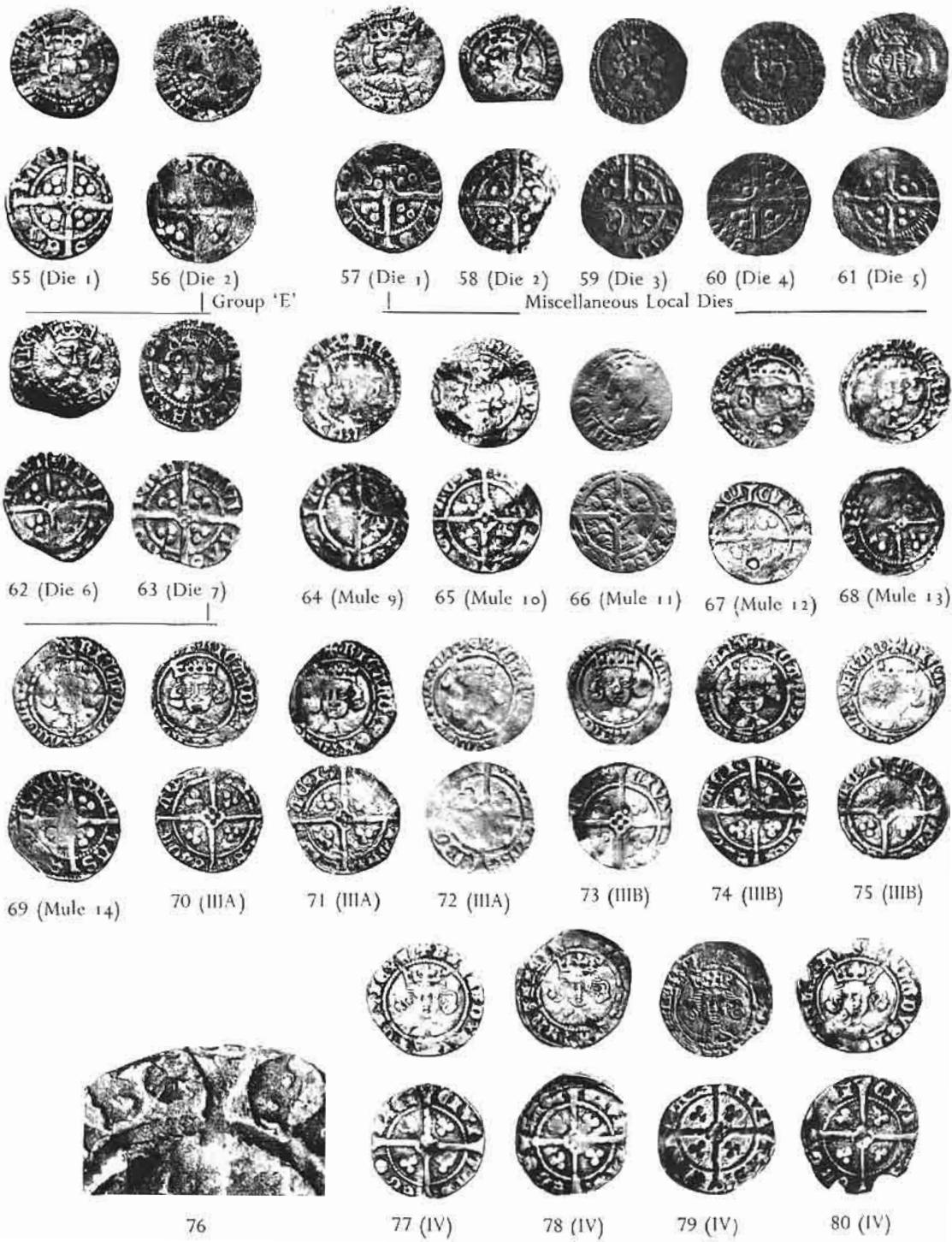
Pl. IX.	1.	London halfpenny, Early type, IA 1.				
2.	"	"	Intermediate Type, IA 2, Roman N's correctly barred.			
3.	"	"	"	"	IA 2 and IA 3 group, Lombardic N's ff.	
4.	"	"	"	"	"	
5.	"	"	"	"	"	
6.	"	"	"	"	IA 4 and IA 6 group.	
7.	"	"	"	"	"	
8.	"	"	"	"	IA 5.	"
9.	"	"	"	"	IIA and IIB group.	
10.	"	"	Late Types,	"	III, Series 1.	
11.	"	"	"	"	"	"
12.	"	"	"	"	"	"
13.	"	"	"	"	"	Series 2.
14.	"	"	"	"	"	"
15.	"	"	"	"	"	"
16.	"	"	"	"	"	"
17.	"	"	"	"	IV, Series 1.	"
18.	"	"	"	"	"	Series 2.
19.	"	"	"	"	"	"
20.	"	"	"	"	"	"
21.	"	"	Mule IA 1/IA 2.	"	"	"
22.	"	"	Mule IA 1/IV.			
23.	"	"	Mule IA 3/IV.			

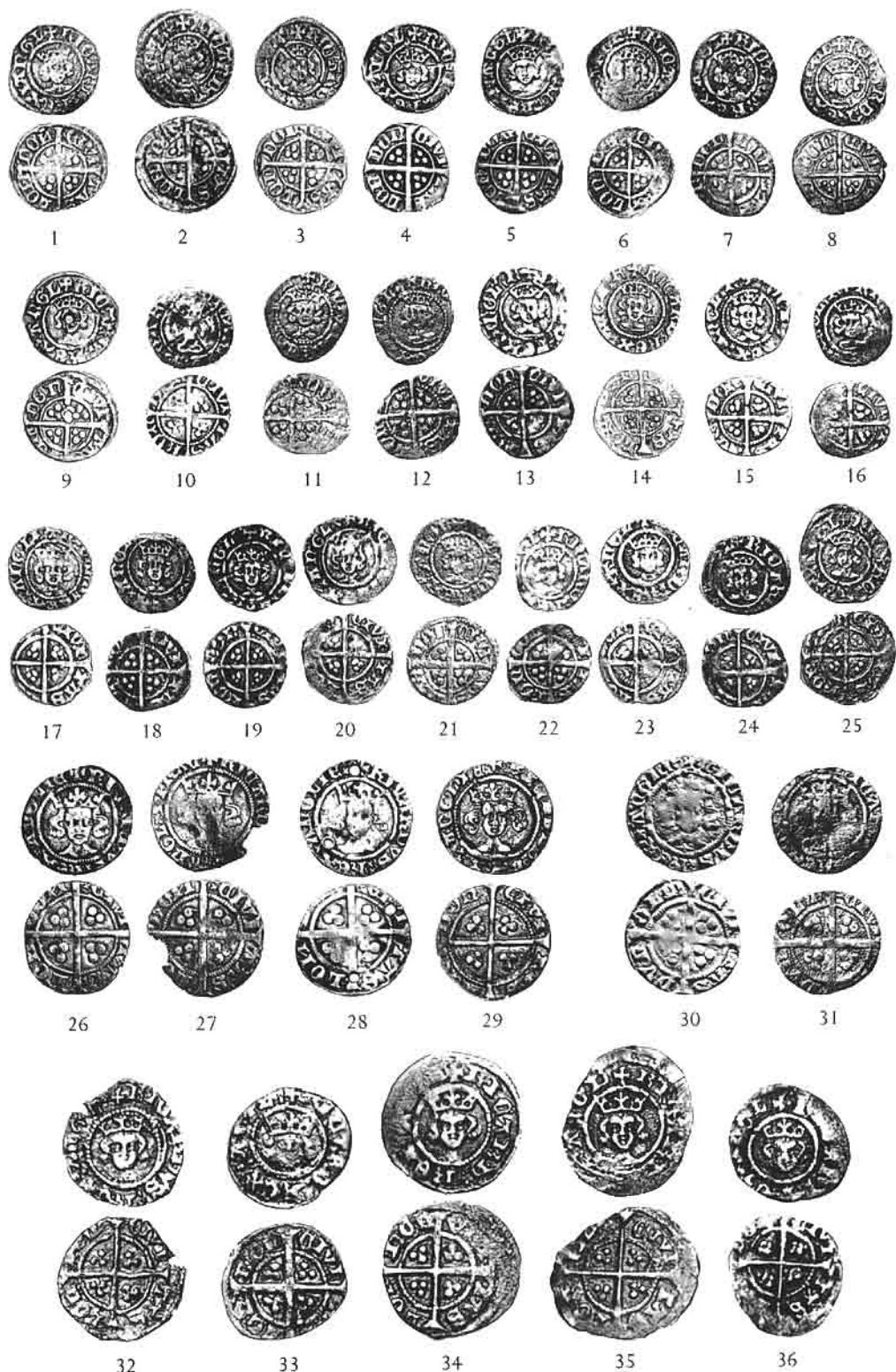
Pl. IX. 24. London halfpenny. Mule IA 6/IV.
25. " " Mule II/IV.
26. London penny. Type IA 2.
27. " " " IA 4.
28. " " " IA 6.
29. " " " IV.
30. Durham penny, die A.
31. " " die B.
32. London farthing, series 1.
33. " " series 2.
34. " " "
35. " " "
36. " " series 3.

I trust I shall be forgiven for not mentioning the ownership of individual specimens as they are described in the text. The following, however, are the chief contributors to whom I am indeed grateful: C. E. Blunt, The British Museum, E. J. Harris, B. A. Seaby Ltd., E. J. Winstanley.









THE COINAGE OF HENRY VII (cont.)

W. J. W. POTTER and E. J. WINSTANLEY

CHAPTER VI. *Type V, The Profile Coins*

ALEXANDER DE BRUGSAL'S greatest work was the very fine profile portrait which he produced for the shillings, groats, and halves, and these coins are among the most beautiful of all the English hammered silver. It is true that they were a belated reply to the magnificent portrait coinage which had been appearing on the Continent since as early as 1465 but they have nothing to fear in comparison with the best foreign work.

There has always been some doubt as to the date of the appearance of the new coins as there is no document extant ordering the production of the new shilling denomination, nor, as might perhaps be expected, is there one mentioning the new profile design. However, as will be shown in the final chapter, there are good grounds for supposing that they first saw the light at the beginning of 1504.

It has been suggested that experimental coins were first released to test public reaction to the new style of portrait, and that this was so with the groats is strongly supported by the marking used for what are probably the earliest of these, namely, no mint-mark and large and small lis. They are all rare and it is clear that regular production was not undertaken until later in 1504, while the full-face groats were probably not finally superseded until early the following year.

First, then, the *shillings*, which bear only the large and small lis as mark. These apparently failed to gain public acceptance, for though two types are known from eight obverse dies differing only in minor details, all except the first, which was probably put aside as a curiosity, are very rare. Here is a list of the dies, with details of the more important specimens on which they may be found:

SHILLINGS

Obverses

Type 1. Mm. Small lis, special lettering, hair-line inner circle.

Die 1: HENRICVS^XDI^I, ends ANGLIE. Z. FR^I. *Rev.* I-1. (BM-2, RCL. 1717, HAP. 328, Ryan 968, RCB, Fitz-2, EJW, Raynes 455, Ashm., Hunt., Royal Mint). (Pl. X. 1)

Die 2: HENRIC^I DI^I, no stops, ends ANGLIE Z FRAN. *Rev.* I-2 (BM, Ryan 967) (Pl. X. 2), *Rev.* II-6 (BM). (Pl. X. 3)

Type 2. Mm. Large Lis, lettering G1, ends ANGL. Z. FR(A), hair-line inner circle.

Die 3: HENRIC^I SEPTIM? *Rev.* II-3 (BM). (Pl. X. 4)

Die 4: " *Rev.* II-3 (BM).

Die 5: " *Rev.* II-4 (RCL. 1718, Ryan 969).

Die 6: HENRIC^I V-I-I. *Rev.* II-5 (EJW ex Ryan 971),
(Crown has six small uprights). (Pl. X. 5)

Die 7: HENRIC^I V-I-I. *Rev.* II-6 (HAP. 329).

Die 8: HENRIC^I VII. *Rev.* II-7 (BM), *Rev.* II-8 (Ryan 970).

Reverses

Type 1. Ornamental cross-ends with lis in ends, special lettering, mm. Small lis. Plain inner circle.

Die 1: A/DIVTO/E^IMEV^I Die 2 A/DIVTO/EV^IMEV^I

Type II. Cross-ends No. 11 with slipped trefoil in ends, lettering G1, mm. Large lis. Hair-line inner circle.

Dies 3, 4: A/DIVTOR/E²MEVM. Die 5: A/DIVTOR/E²MEV!. Dies 6, 7, 8: A/DIVTO/E²MEV!

The reasons which have led us to adopt the obverse die order shown may be summarized as follows: Die 1 has been placed first because of the comparatively large number of surviving specimens in excellent state of preservation, such as would represent those put aside as keepsakes. The king's name in full but without numeral, the lettering and the mint-mark small lis also represent the earliest form of these experimental issues, as will be fully shown in the case of the groats. Die 2 is of similar type and style, but is rare and therefore unlikely to have been the first issue. Furthermore, it is known used with a later reverse, one incidentally which is also known used with a tentative groat obverse.

In type 2 the SEPTIM shillings have been placed first as it seems most likely to us that this would be first version of the king's numeral, and this is confirmed by the order of the contemporary groats. Also the bust used on these is of the same fine work as dies 1 and 2, whereas that on the later dies is coarser and the punches more carelessly placed. On the other hand, the legend endings of the reverse dies of the equivalent type (II) are now placed in an order opposite to that which might have been expected from a comparison with the two dies of type I. These have the ending A/DIVTO/E(v). MEV which is that found on reverse dies 6, 7, and 8, among which is the only die of type II found used with the earlier type 1 obverses, and therefore might have been expected to be an early reverse.

The two types of shilling are quite distinct, the first bearing every mark of a special issue with lettering, bust, and reverse cross of elaborate design. The second, however, with the exception of the SEPTIM shillings, is of coarser style with normal lettering and reverse cross such as would have been used for a regular issue. All the busts have the wide single-arched crown with strawberry-leaf decoration, which adds to the dignity of the portrait, and all with the exception of die no. 6 have the arch surmounted by small crosses as jewels. It is unfortunate that the only coin from this die should be so worn but the crown undoubtedly has six uprights as jewels, as found on all the type II groats. One other point is that the reverses of type I have a plain field whereas both types of obverse and type II of the reverses have the hair-line circle around the field which adds such distinction to the design.

The surviving groats with profile portrait are known with six different marks, viz. no mint-mark, small and large lis, greyhound's head, cross-crosslet and pheon, and it is evident that the first three at any rate must be in the nature of trial pieces, as they do not bear marks in the regular series. The late Mr. Carlyon-Britton, in his article on these coins already referred to, suggested that the trial pieces may be distinguished from the eventual definitive issue by the base of the crown. This is made up of two bands on all the profile groats with the first four marks mentioned, and some of the crosslets, but of three bands on the majority of the groats of the latter mark, and all the pheons.

This difference is certainly a very convenient dividing line, whatever may have been its original significance, as all the varieties are to be found on the coins with the two-band crown, whereas those with three are all of one standard type of lettering, legend, and bust. It is therefore proposed to adopt it here, with the proviso that there is some evidence that the crosslet groats with the two-band crown at least may have been in the

regular series and not experimental issues; they are very much more common than the others.

Before attempting to classify these trial or tentative pieces, as Mr. Carlyon-Britton called them, and to put the known dies in order of production, it would be as well to describe the varieties we are dealing with and the many ways in which they differ from the regular series which followed.

To take the obverses first, the varieties to be noted are to be found in the king's name, the bust, the jewelling of the crown, the lettering, and the decoration of the field. The king's name is found in five forms, similar to those on the shillings, viz. HENRICVS. DEI, HENRIC. DEI, HENRIC. DI, HENRIC. SEPTIM, and HENRIC. VII. As to the busts, Mr. Carlyon-Britton in his list recognized five types, but to our minds, the differences are not great enough to warrant separate classification, being only such as might occur in five separate essays engraved from the same original. They chiefly differ from the bust adopted for the regular issue in the hair, which is shown as ending in tight curls, four down the cheek and four across the neck as on the shillings whereas in the regular issue profiles there are not such definite curls shown.

All the crowns have a wide single-arch with double bar, surmounted by orb and cross, and very large strawberry (?) leaves beneath, quite different from the conventional lis on the full-faced groats. Three jewels are found on each side of the orb and cross, and these jewels take three forms: crockets, small uprights, and pellets over uprights.

The lettering is rather more complicated than would at first appear. Many punches of slightly differing forms were used for the earlier coins including some of the distinctive punches prepared for the first of the shillings. There is, however, the same general distinction of style between the majority of those groats having marks other than the crosslet and the crosslet-marked groats as has already been noted between the regular G.H. 2 and the full-faced crosslet groats. The former have the more delicate and plainer lettering G1 including F1, S1, and N10, and both E5, and E7, a small round E also found, curiously enough, on some late regular crosslets with the compound marks, while the latter show the slightly coarser and larger lettering G3 which includes F2 and F3, S2, N11, and E5a.

Finally, there is what we have called the decoration of the field. On some of the earlier groats, as on the shillings, we find an extra hair-line inner circle on each side, which gives the appearance of a raised centre with bevelled edge, an attractive feature which, unfortunately, was not carried on to the regular issue. Also on two crosslet dies a treasure was inserted on each side of the head, where space was found, in imitation of the full-face groats.

The reverses show two varieties apart from legend differences, which do not seem to have any significance, namely: the cross-ends, and the decoration of the field. Two main types of cross-end are found on the trial reverses, namely no. 10, already encountered on the later full-face groats, and the new no. 11, developed purely for the profile issues. Both these, however, differ slightly from the forms found on the regular issues, usually having a small stroke issuing from the centre of each end.

As already mentioned, the early reverses with no. 10 have a hair-line inner circle to match the obverses for which they were obviously made. Two reverses with no. 11, however, are also known with hair-line inner circle, and as these are found only with two obverses having a similar inner circle (see list) it is probable that these were essays from

which the later regular type 11 was developed. One of the shilling reverse dies was used with a groat obverse.

In the preceding chapter it was shown that it is possible to place the known dies of the full-face issues of the greyhound's head and crosslet groats in a sequence which has every appearance of probability, taking into consideration the lettering, legends, and cross-ends. Using the same aids and methods and with the assistance of the list of shillings, a similar task for the tentative groats can be attempted with a reasonable prospect of success. Here, then, is a list of the obverse dies with no mint-mark, small or large lis, and greyhound's head marks with the reverses found with them, in their probable order of production. In the case of the crosslets other than the treasure groats, only the main groups have been given in view of the much larger number of dies.

GROATS

Type I. Six crockets as jewels, hair-line inner circles.

(a) Mm. Small lis, lettering as shillings type 1:

Die 1: HENRICVS. DEI—ANGLI	Rev. 10, mm. large lis. (Pl. X. 9)
	,, 11, mm. large lis.

Die 2: HENRIC. DI—ANGLIE.	Rev. 10, mm. small lis. (Pl. X. 6)
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(b) No mm. lettering G1.

Die 3: HENRICVS. DEI—ANGLIE.	Rev. 10, mm. large lis. (Pl. X. 7)
Die 4: HENRIC. DEI—ANGLIE.	Rev. 10, mm. small lis.
	,, 10, mm. large lis.

Type II. Six uprights as jewels, ordinary inner circles except die 5, lettering G3.

(a) No mint-mark:

Die 5: HENRIC. SEPTIM—ANGL.	Rev. 11, mm. large lis, hair-line, as reverse of die 1. (Pl. X. 10)
Dies 6/7: HENRIC. VII—ANGL.	Rev. 10, no. mm. or saltire before POSVI.
(Pellets struck over uprights)	

Die 8: HENRIC. VII—AGLI.	Rev. 10, no mm. or large lis.
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Die 9: HENRIC. VII—AGL.	Rev. 10, no mm.
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(b) Mm. Large lis.

Die 10: HENRIC. VII—ANGL.	Rev. 10, no mm. (Pl. X. 11)
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Die 11: ,,	Rev. 11, mm. large lis. (Pl. X. 12)
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Die 12: ,,	Rev. 11, mm. G.H. 2.
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Die 13: HENRIC. DI—ANGL.	Rev. 11, ,,
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Die 14: HENRIC. VII—AGLI.	Rev. 11, ,,(also shilling rev. die II-1. (Pl. X. 8))
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(c) Mm. Greyhound's head no. 2:

Dies 15/16: HENRIC. VII—AGL.	Rev. 11. mm. G.H. 2 (Pl. X. 13)
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Type III. Mm. Crosslet.

(a) Six uprights as jewels, HENRIC. VII. Rev. 11.

legend ends ANGL, AGLI, AGL (F2a, F3).

(b) Six crockets as jewels, HENRIC. VII. Rev. 11.

legend ends ANGL (F3), AGLI (F2), AGL (F2, F3).

(c) As (b) but treasure added round head. Rev. 11.

legend ends ANGL (F2) (Pl. X. 14), AGL (F2).

This list is largely self-explanatory, and it will be seen that the earlier dies follow closely the lines of the shillings, except that the groats without mint-mark have no parallel in the larger coins, while these latter had apparently been discontinued by the time the G.H. 2 mark was being used for the groats.

The various abbreviations of ANGLIE again help to confirm the sequence adopted, as type I of the groats copies type I of the shillings in using the full spelling, while the early groats of type IIa use the abbreviated form ANGL, as do the shillings of the equivalent type. In the case of the groats, the order ANGL, AGLI, AGL was apparently used twice, first for the no mint-mark groats of type IIa, and second for the large lis groats of type IIb, as the former group all have reverse no. 10 except for the two SEPTIM coins with their unusual reverse, while the latter all have reverse no. 11, with the exception here of the coin from die 10 which is undoubtedly a mule of types IIa and IIb.

Two peculiarities among the groats of type II to which attention may be drawn are, first, die 13, which omits the numeral, and second, dies 15/16 with the G.H. 2 mark, on which the h of hENRIC is from alphabet E last used on the G.H. 1 groats (Pl. X. 13). Both are probably die-sinkers' errors.

The crosslet tentatives, which also have reverse no. 11, have the later lettering G3 (with F2 and F3), instead of the G1 of type II, and they are also found with the three forms of abbreviation mentioned, so that this must have been the third use of this sequence. There can be little doubt therefore that it was a privy mark of some sort. These groats show both the six uprights and the six crockets as jewels, but the former are much rarer though found with all three forms of abbreviation.

The crosslets with tressure around the profile form a very interesting group of their own. The four known specimens are from two obverse dies. What is probably the earlier, to judge from the abbreviation of ANGLIE used, has ANGL and the crown with six crockets, while the second die, also having the six crockets, has AGL. One coin, now in the British Museum, is known from the first-mentioned die, and three from the second, one in the British Museum and two which went through the Lockett sales (II 1724 and III 3405). Though there are in existence one or two forgeries of this type, the four coins mentioned are undoubtedly genuine, and it is curious that this rather clumsy and unnecessary addition to an otherwise very fine clean design should have been officially attempted and apparently on two different occasions separated probably by some months.

As already mentioned, the regular issue of profile groats is distinguished from the trial pieces just described by the crown. This is of the same style on both issues, but on the former the base is formed of three narrow bands instead of two, and the jewels are reduced to two crockets on each side. These groats, which finally substituted the full-face coinage late in 1504 or early in 1505, continued to be struck in large numbers to the end of the reign in April 1509. The same design with only the change of VII to VIII also served for the first 17 years of Henry VIII's reign.

As to varieties on these regular profile groats, a most remarkable uniformity is noticeable throughout their currency, the only possible points requiring mention being the mint-marks and the stopping, which latter will be found touched upon in the final chapter. It has already been stated that two mint-marks only are found on the regular profiles, namely the cross-crosslet and the pheon. This is in essence true, but at the end of the crosslet period a subsidiary mark consisting of two pellets was added to the crosslet for a short time on both obverses and reverses. On the obverses this mark appeared in various positions, utilizing also saltires, and was even placed by the cross over the crown, but on reverses it appears only before the crosslet. That this subsidiary mark occurred at the end of the crosslet period is made virtually certain by the fact that no normal mule between the two marks is known, but only between the pheon and the crosslet and

pellets. Further, obverse dies of both crosslet and crosslet and pellets are known over-stamped with the pheon mark. Incidentally this method of using up old dies at a change of mark is most unusual, the normal custom being to accept the appearance of the new mark on one side of a coin as sufficient evidence of such change.

The peculiarities of the transitional period between crosslet and pheon are not yet exhausted, however, as there are in existence a number of groats with the two marks on the same side of the coin, one in the normal position and one at the end of the legend. Both versions of this double mark occur, that is, with the crosslet at the beginning and pheon at the end and vice versa, and these occur on both obverse and reverse dies. This unique use of two regular marks to make artificial mules cannot be explained under any hypothesis so far advanced as to the significance of the mint-mark. They only complicate an already very complex picture of what is normally a simple operation. The following list of the various transitional forms we have encountered will illustrate this complexity. The marks over or beside the crown are found above or beside the cross at the top:

1. *With Plain Crosslet obverses*

\ddagger/\ddagger (EJW), $—/\downarrow \times \ddagger$ (BM).

2. *With Crosslet obverses and marks by Cross over Crown*

\ddagger Two saltires over crown. $/:\ddagger$ (Fitz).

Two pellets over crown. $/:\ddagger$ (EJW, BM).

Two saltires to left of crown. $:\ddagger—\downarrow \times$ (BM).

3. *With Crosslet and Pellet or Saltire obverses*

\ddagger/\ddagger (BM), $—/:\ddagger$ (BM).

\ddagger^*/\ddagger (EJW).

$\ddagger/:\ddagger$ (EJW, Ashm.).

$:\ddagger/:\ddagger$ (EJW, BM).

$\ddagger^*/\ddagger—\downarrow \times$ (EJW).

4. *With Double Marks on obverse*

$\ddagger—\downarrow /:\ddagger$ (EJW), $—/\downarrow$ (EJW, CEB),
 $\downarrow —\ddagger/:\ddagger$ (BM).

5. *With Plain Pheon obverses*

\downarrow over \ddagger/\downarrow (EJW, BM).

\downarrow over $:\ddagger/\downarrow$ (EJW).

$\downarrow /:\ddagger$ (EJW, BM), $—/\ddagger—\downarrow$ (BM-2), $—/\downarrow \times \ddagger$ (BM).

One point that might be mentioned is that some of the groats we have seen with the subsidiary mark on one or both sides look decidedly base, as though an admixture of copper is present. Another point concerns the plain crosslet mark itself. A very curious feature of this is that when used on the regular profile groats, the top half of the cross on the right-hand arm is always missing. It is present on the obverses of the majority of full-face groats with this mark, and on some of the tentatives, but we know of only one case in which this mutilation appears on the reverse mark.

Before leaving the groats we would like to mention two unusual attempts at forgery which have come to our notice. Both illustrate the same form of falsification, namely, the recutting of letters or marks on a normal coin to make it appear an extremely rare or unique specimen. The first of these was the treasure groat sold in lot 334 at the

Parsons sale 1954. Although it was referred to as a forgery in the catalogue it was later submitted to the Mint for a technical examination and pronounced genuine. In view of this verdict it was thought desirable to re-examine the coin from a purely numismatic viewpoint, and the first thing noticed was that it was a regular crosslet and pellets groat on which the three bands of the crown had been cleverly reduced to two to make it appear a tentative coin. It could not therefore genuinely have borne an experimental tressure and the next step was to find an unaltered groat from the same obverse die. This duly turned up in Mr. Carlyon-Britton's collection and it was then obvious that the tressure had been cut out of the raised field surrounding the profile. The forgery was therefore established beyond any reasonable doubt, but it had been done with such skill that even the Mint experts were deceived.

The second coin was acquired by Sir William Hunter in the late 1700's and figures in the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow. We are grateful to Miss Anne Robertson for letting us examine and illustrate this and other coins in the collection. This groat purports to be a lis/pheon mule, a most unlikely combination, but by coincidence the obverse must also have been from a crosslet and pellets die as the pellets still remain before the lis. In this case also the cutting has resulted in an abnormal shape, the normal being that of the lis in the French arms on the reverse, but it has been done with great skill and delicacy. That the mark is a recutting from a crosslet, however, is made a virtual certainty by the fact that the final F of the legend (there is no R) has also been altered—to an L! No doubt in this case too it would be possible to find a normal coin from the same obverse die. Incidentally, the reverse pheon is somewhat blurred and slightly abnormal in appearance, but it is unlikely to have been altered from a crosslet as this mule is not known on an actual coin.

Finally there are the profile *half-groats*. These are identical with the groats, having the POSVI. DEVM legend on the reverse in place of the mint-name, and three distinct series are known distinguished as follows:

1. Lis and pheon mint-marks,
2. Martlet and rose mint-marks,
3. Martlet and rose marks with keys either side of reverse shield.

Originally the first two were attributed to London and the third to York, but in a paper published in the *Numismatic Chronicle* in 1919 Messrs. Lawrence and Brooke classed the martlet and rose halves together as both coming from the York mint. We think, however, that Mr. Carlyon-Britton in his article already referred to is correct in his view that the three were issued by different mints, namely: London, Canterbury, and York, though we query some of his evidence and the conclusions drawn from it.

The series with the lis and pheon marks are certainly from the Tower, in view of the use of the regular pheon mark which is also found muled with the earlier lis. The lis, of course, was the mark in use on the London full-face half-groats. The known types of *London* profile halves, which all have reverse cross no. 10 are as follows:

1. 0/1—No. mm, H/lis , H .	6. 2/3—Lis, $\text{W}/:$ lis.
2. 1—Lis, H/lis , H .	7. 3—: Lis/ : lis.
3. 1/2—Lis, H/lis , W .	8. 3/4—: Lis/pheon.
4. 1/3—Lis, $\text{H}/:$ lis.	9. 4/3—Pheon/ : lis.
5. 2—Lis, W/lis W .	10. 4—Pheon/pheon.

Of these, the obverse die of no. 1 is the only half-groat die which can be equated with the experimental dies of the larger coins, and is certainly the earliest known from any mint. Apart from having no mint-mark, the king's name has no numeral following it, and the extra space has allowed the full legend: ANGLI.Z.FR'. We know of three specimens of this coin, one in the British Museum collection and two others sold in the dispersal of the Ryan and R. C. B. collections. The : lis mark is obviously the equivalent of the : crosslet mark found on the groats just before the adoption of the pheon mark, and enables us to place these halves as contemporary with the profile groats.

As to the two series with the martlet and rose, Mr. Carlyon-Britton lists them as follows in conjunction with the earliest issues of the next reign. In the case of the latter it will be seen that, except for one instance, the mint is indicated by the initials of the archbishop which appear above the reverse shield;

CANTERBURY

Henry VII

1. Martlet b.s, HE'RIC, H/H .
2. " HENRIC, H/H .
3. Rose b.s, reverse 10.
4. Martlet/rose, reverse 10.
5. " reverse 11.
6. Rose b.s, reverse 11.

Henry VIII

7. Martlet/martlet over rose, reverse 11, w-A over shield.

YORK

Henry VII

1. Martlet b.s, HE'RIC, H/H .
2. " HENRIC, H/H .
3. Rose/martlet, reverse 10, keys.
4. " reverse 11, keys.
5. Rose b.s, reverse 11, keys.
6. Martlet, b.s. reverse 11, keys.

Henry VIII

7. Martlet b.s, keys, reverse 11.
8. " no keys, x-B over shield.

Since Mr. Carlyon-Britton prepared his lists there are one or two alterations and additions to be made to the York coins. Firstly, we have been unable to trace his no. 6, martlet both sides, cross-end no. 11, and in view of the fact that some of the earliest martlet halves of Henry VIII of this type (his no. 7) are known with martlet over rose on the obverse, we think it unlikely that such a coin exists. Secondly, two specimens of a most interesting mule have turned up in the interval, which seem to us to confirm the fact that the rose was the last obverse mark of Bainbridge's Henry VII issues. This is the rose/martlet half with cross-end no. 11 and xb for Christopher Bainbridge either side of the reverse shield.¹ One specimen with the king's numeral not clear is to be found in Mr. Carlyon-Britton's own collection now with Messrs. Seaby, while the other, with a clear vii, is in the British Museum.

The reverse die used for these two should certainly be of Henry VIII, though we have so far been unable to find it used in his reign. The Henry VIII halves with x-B on the reverse are scarce, if not rare, and were not apparently the very first issue. These were the halves with martlet both sides, on obverse over rose, already quoted, so that the rose/martlet York coins, or one or two of them, may be further Henry VII/VIII mules. Finally it should be mentioned that at both mints two sizes of rose mark are found on some late obverses as follows:

Canterbury—Large rose/rose, reverse 11;

York—Large rose/martlet, reverse 11;

but it is to be doubted whether this size-difference has any special significance.

¹ See BNJ 1954, p. 218, Pl. VIII. 9.

As regards Mr. Carlyon-Britton's attribution of the two series of rose and martlet halves to Canterbury and York, it is reasonable to think that the evidence for this has been strengthened rather than otherwise by the additions and alterations mentioned above. Further, his comparisons with the early issues of Henry VIII which usually bore the archbishops' initials are wholly justified and to our mind are conclusive when taken in conjunction with the other points quoted.

When we come to the question of the order of appearance of the two marks at the two mints we are on more debatable ground. We have, of course, nothing but the marks and cross-ends to help us as the lettering is the same throughout, except for the special A which appears on the earliest issues from all three mints with the curious spelling he'RIC. Mr. Carlyon-Britton has assumed that the martlet/rose and rose/martlet halves are not mules but compound-mark coins. This is one of those points which are almost impossible to prove or disprove. Except for the very special greyhound's head/rose groats such coins in this or the following reign are always mules, but unless we accept the opposite view in this case, at least for the latest issues, it is virtually impossible to arrange the known halves in a rational order.

In the case of Canterbury we can reasonably assume Mr. Carlyon-Britton's no. 4, martlet/rose, reverse 10 (Pl. X. 16), to be a 2/3 mule, but the similar coin with reverse 11 (Pl. X. 17) is a different proposition. Though it might be a mule with a no. 2 obverse used after the lapse of a year or two, it is more likely that it was in fact a compound mark which would have followed and not preceded the half with rose both sides. In a similar way, at York the rose/martlet half with reverse 10 (Pl. X. 18) is probably a mule 2/3, whereas the half with reverse no. 11 (Pl. X. 19) would be the compound mark for the last issue. The correctness of this reading for both mints is made almost a certainty by the rare mule rose/martlet x-B (Pl. X. 20) which is mentioned above, and which must be the last Henry VII issue.

Here is the revised list of the profile halves of Canterbury and York:

CANTERBURY

1. Martlet b.s, he'RIC, A/A .
2. " HENRIC, A/A .
- 2/3. Martlet/rose, rev. 10.
3. Rose b.s, rev. 10.
4. " rev. 11.
5. Martlet/rose, rev. 11.

YORK

1. Martlet b.s, he'RIC, A/A .
2. " HENRIC, A/A .
- 3/2. Rose/martlet, rev. 10.
3. Rose b.s, rev. 11, keys.
4. Rose/martlet, rev. 11, keys.
- 4/H8. Rose/martlet/x-B, rev. 11.

CHAPTER VII. *The Pennies, Halfpennies, and Farthings*

E. J. WINSTANLEY

1. *The pennies.* The pennies of Henry VII are of unusual interest for this small coin because, after an early issue of the ordinary full face-crowned bust types, copying on a smaller scale the half-groats, the bold step was taken of transferring to their small

surface the elaborate design of the sovereign, that is the figure of the king, robed and crowned and holding sceptre and orb, seated facing on the throne. It is to be doubted, however, whether this design was really suitable for such a tiny flan. Nevertheless, that it was brilliantly executed can be seen from the occasional well-struck and well-preserved specimen that has survived.

The earliest known of these sovereign pennies have no mint-mark and were therefore probably issued very shortly after the appearance of the first sovereign, which bears the cross fitchy mark immediately preceding the 'no mint-mark' coins. It will be recalled that a solitary trial piece for the groat is known with this type, but this has the cinquefoil mark, found also on the pennies, and was therefore struck subsequently to the earliest of these. On this much larger flan the design would have been a success. The sovereign pennies are known not only from the Tower, but also from the ecclesiastical mints of York and Durham, and the fine workmanship mentioned as found on some pieces comes equally from all three mints. This would suggest that local dies were not made in the provinces at this time. No doubt the fabrication of such small and elaborate dies called for a high degree of skill to be found only at the Tower.

The open-crown pennies are known from the three mints mentioned, and also from Canterbury, and are of two types, as will be seen from the detailed lists which follow. The London pennies have first the lis on half rose, and second no mint-mark. This gives a pointer to the date of the appearance of the sovereigns that is probably half-way through the currency of the 'no-mint mark' coins. At Canterbury, which issued no sovereign pennies, an issue of the later arched-crown type pennies is known.

The London sovereign pennies are rarer than those of York or Durham and the majority have no mint-mark, though some of the regular marks are to be found. The heraldic cinquefoil fits neatly into the design, as do also the cross-crosslet (made from four crosses) and the pheon (with shortened staff), but the pansy seen on the reverse of a penny in the British Museum is much too big for so small a coin. Was it perhaps this difficulty that prevented the use of such complicated marks as the crowned leopard's head and the lis issuant from rose?

The classification adopted for this denomination does not differ radically from that of Brooke, but it enlarges and extends it. The open-crown pennies follow the pattern set by the larger coins and present little difficulty apart from their rarity, and the consequent lack of specimens for study. On the other hand, the sovereign penny presents a great variety of detail. The mint-marks, which follow the normal sequence, are of great assistance when present, and the changes of lettering have also been of great use. The variety of detail includes the presence or absence of pillars to the throne and the various objects surmounting the sceptre and pillars as well as, in the case of the coins from provincial mints, episcopal insignia at either side and small objects placed seemingly haphazard in the field.

Using all the evidence available, therefore, it has been possible to place the London sovereign pennies in an orderly sequence based on the gradual development in the number and ornamentation of the pillars to the throne, from none to single pillars and finally to double ones. It is significant that arranged in this sequence the coins show a gradual change of lettering in conformity with that on the series of groats, while it has been possible to show that at York and Durham the series, though less complete, follows that of London with a consistency which strongly suggests that the sequence is correct.

THE OPEN-CROWN PENCE

LONDON:

Type I. HENRIC DEI GRA REX AG CIVITAS LONDON

Mint-mark lis and rose on obverse only—no stops—reverse cross ending no. 1.

1. British Museum ex Walters 1913 lot 494, Montagu 676, Shepherd 199.
2. R. C. L. 1702 ex Roth 416 and Wheeler 294. (Pl. XI. 1)
3. R. Carlyon-Britton ex Lawrence 680.

Type II. HENRIC DI GRA REX ANGL CIVITAS LONDON

No mint-mark but there is a small cross in its place. The crown is higher than in type I and there is a cross at either side of the neck. There are trefoil stops and cross ending on reverse is no. 1.

1. Ashmolean (Pl. XI. 2).
2. C. E. Blunt ex Walters 1913, lot 495.

CANTERBURY:

*Type I. Not known.**Type II. HENRIC DI GRA REX ANGL CIVITAS CANTOR*Mint-mark tun on obverse only—low crown—crosses in saltire at neck—trefoil stops—reverse cross ending no. 1. Struck by Cardinal Archbishop John Morton with his Ω in the centre of the reverse.

1. British Museum ex Montagu 677. (Pl. XI. 3)
2. British Museum.
3. Fitzwilliam ex Henderson bequest.
4. R. C. L. 1738 ex Walters 1913 lot 496.

The dies are not identical.

So few of the above coins are known that I have thought it worth listing all that I could trace.

YORK:

*Type I. HENRIC DI GRA REX ANG CIVITAS EBORACI*Mint-mark lis over sun and rose—low crown—no stops visible— τ and trefoil at neck—extra pellet in two quarters of reverse—reverse cross ending no. 1. Brooke and Lawrence both list a penny of this type with τ and key at neck. I have been unable to find such a coin though in the face of such authorities I hesitate to say that it does not exist.*Type II. HENRIC DI GRA REX ANG CIVITAS EBORACI*Mint-mark uncertain—sometimes given as rose (L. A. L.)—taller crown— τ and cross by neck—trefoil stops—Lombardic H in centre of reverse—cross ending no. 1. This coin appears to correspond with the London and Canterbury pennies of type II. (Pl. XI. 5)

DURHAM:

*Type I. Not known.**Type II. HENRIC DI GRA REX AN CIVITAS DE: RAM*Mint-mark a cross—tall crown—s on breast—no stops— σ in centre of reverse and cross ending no. 1—struck by Bishop John Sherwood. (Pl. XI. 6)

ARCHED-CROWN PENCE

Canterbury alone struck full-faced pence with an arched crown. They are commonly believed to represent a sharing of the working of the mint between the king and Archbishop Morton. They bear Morton's tun as mint-mark, usually on both sides, but his Ω is not present on the reverse. The crown has two arches, the outer one crocketed; the stops, if present, are rosettes. The reverse cross ending is no. 7 and the lettering is ϵ (Pl. XI. 7). The reader is referred to Brooke's paper 'The Mints of Canterbury and York in the reigns of Edward IV and Henry VII' (BNJ xxi, pp. 73-87).

SOVEREIGN PENCE

Type I. No Pillars to Throne

LONDON:

HENRIC DI GRA REX ANGL (ANGAN) CIVITAS LONDON

No mint-mark—no stops—the lettering is A with L2. The sceptre is lis-topped, and the reverse cross ending is no. 1. One specimen known only—R. C. L. 1713, now in British Museum. (Pl. XI. 8)

YORK:

Legend as at London.

Obverse as at London, but the sceptre is in the left and the orb in the right hand. There are no stops and the reverse cross ending is no. 1. There are keys below the shield.

DURHAM:

No pennies of this type are known.

Type II. One Pillar above the Leg of the Throne on the King's Right Side

LONDON:

- (a) Legend as before—mint-mark heraldic cinquefoil—trefoil stops—lettering A. The reverse cross ending is no. 2 and the sceptre and pillar are lis-topped. (Pl. XI. 9)
- (b) No mint-mark—trefoil stops—lettering A. The reverse cross ending is sometimes no. 2 and sometimes no. 7. The sceptre and pillar are trefoil-topped (Pl. XI. 10). Were it not for the existence of the two sorts of reverse found linked with this obverse, one would have placed it as earlier than the heraldic cinquefoil.
- (c) Mint-mark lis—rosette stops—lettering B—reverse cross ending is no. 7. The sceptre and pillar are trefoil-topped (Pl. XI. 13). There are mules of IIb/IIc and IIc/IIb in the Brit. Mus. (Pl. XI. 11 and 12)

YORK:

- (a) Not known.

- (b) Legend as before—no mint-mark—trefoil stops—usually a trefoil over the crown. The lettering is A and the reverse cross ending is no. 2. The sceptre is lis- and the pillar trefoil-topped. (Pl. XI. 21)

- (c) No mint-mark—rosette stops—lettering D. The reverse cross ending is no. 7. The sceptre and pillar can be either lis- or trefoil-topped. (Pl. XI. 22)

DURHAM:

HENRIC DI GRA REX A (AN) CIVITAS DIRHAM

- (a) Not known.
- (b) The head of a crozier occupies the place of a mint-mark, while the crozier staff leans against the king's left shoulder. There are no stops. The lettering is A and the reverse cross ending is no. 2. The sceptre is lis- and the pillar trefoil-topped. The vertical line of the transverse cross on the reverse is continued above the shield to form the head of a crozier. On either side of the shield are the letters D.S. (John Sherwood). (Pl. XI. 24)
- (c) No crozier on either side of the coin but a mitre over the reverse shield. No mint-mark and no stops. Lettering D and the reverse cross ending is no. 7. The sceptre can be lis- or trefoil-topped. The pillar may be topped by a lis, a trefoil, a rosette, or a cross. Beside the shield are the letters D.R. or R.D. (Richard Fox). The size of the letters can vary (Pl. XI. 25). There are a few Durham pennies of this reign that do not conform to these details. They have none of the features of the early pennies and were presumably struck late in the minting.

Type III. Two Single Pillars

LONDON:

- (a) No mint-mark—no stops—large lettering E. The reverse cross ending is no. 7. The pillar on the king's right is lis-topped. The one on the left is very short and not topped at all. (Pl. XI. 14)

(b) Normally no mint-mark, but one coin (British Museum ex L. A. L.) has a pansy on the reverse. Some have saltire stops. The reverse cross ending is no. 7. The lettering is as in type IIIa. The sceptre is lis-topped. The pillars may be topped by lis, trefoils, or crosses. (Pl. XI. 15)

YORK:

(b) No mint-mark—no stops—lettering as at London. The reverse cross ending is no. 7. The sceptre can be lis- or trefoil-topped. The pillars are topped by trefoils or crosses in saltire. On some coins from one to five crosses may be found between the legs of the throne. (Pl. XI. 23)

DURHAM:

(b) Legend as before—no mint-mark—no stops—large lettering E. The reverse cross ending is no. 7. The sceptre is usually lis-topped, but one penny (E. J. W.) has a cross-topped sceptre. The pillars are topped with lis, trefoils, or crosses. There is a mitre over the shield with R.D. or D.R. in large letters either side of the shield. (Pl. XI. 26-28)

Type IV. Two Double Pillars

LONDON:

(No other mint known.)

(a) Legend as before—no mint-mark—crosses in saltire as stops. The lettering is still E, sometimes large, sometimes small. When small the lettering is more like F. One coin (E. J. W.) has large lettering on the obverse and small on the reverse. The reverse cross ending is no. 7. The sceptre and pillars are always lis-topped. (Pl. XI. 17)

(b) Mint-mark cross crosslet, not always on both sides, crosses in saltire as stops. The lettering is G and the reverse cross ending is no. 7. (Pl. XI. 18)

(c) Mint-mark pheon, not always on both sides. In all other respects as type IVb. (Pl. XI. 19)

2. *The Halfpennies.* These coins are no less rare than those of the preceding hundred years. The few that have survived come from the mints of London, Canterbury, and York. None are known of Durham. The criteria used to put the pennies in order can be applied to the halfpennies with much the same result, allowing for the greater scarcity of the latter. It should also be remembered that a good proportion of the surviving half-pence are so ill struck or worn as to be virtually indecipherable. The classification that follows has been built round reasonably legible specimens as can be seen from the illustrations.

THE OPEN CROWN

LONDON:

Type I. HENRIC DEI (DI) GRA REX

(a) Mint-mark lis over rose—no stops visible—reverse cross ending no. 1—lettering A. (Pl. XI. 29)

(b) Mint-mark halved lis and rose—no stops visible—reverse cross ending no. 1—lettering A. (Pl. XI. 30)

(c) Mint-mark rose—trefoil stops—crosses or trefoils at neck—reverse cross ending no. 1. (Pl. XI. 31)

L. A. Lawrence had a cross fitchy halfpenny that he attributed to this reign (NC 4/xviii, 1919). Today it seems probable on stylistic grounds that this halfpenny is a Restoration coin of Henry VI. It is in the Henry VI tray in the British Museum.

CANTERBURY:

Type I. The solitary specimen (BM) is attributed to this mint and type by virtue of the reverse which reads *Civitas Cantor* and has in the centre of its reverse cross the M of Archbishop Morton. There are crosses by the neck on the obverse, and the legend ends AN. (Pl. XI. 32)

On the reverses of these half-pence of London and Canterbury the three pellets in each quarter are joined.

THE DOUBLE ARCHED CROWN

LONDON:

Type II. Legend as before.

- (a) No mint-mark—no stops visible—crosses at neck—reverse cross ending no. 1—lettering uncertain. (Pl. XI. 33)
- (b) Mint-mark heraldic cinquefoil—trefoil stops—no crosses at neck—reverse cross ending no. 2—lettering A. (Pl. XI. 34)

There is a coin (E. J. W.) that may be a mule linking IIb reverse with III obverse. The obverse has a single arched crown and no mint-mark, the reverse has cross ending no. 2 with pellets joined.

CANTERBURY:

The coin published by Mr. P. Frank Purvey in *BNJ* xxx, pt. i, pp. 191–2 and illustrated (Fig. 4) could conceivably be of type II. Its worn condition makes certainty difficult. (Pl. XI. 40)

THE SINGLE ARCHED CROWN

LONDON:

Type III. (a) No mint-mark—no stops visible—reverse cross ending no. 7. (Pl. XI. 35)

- (b) No mint-mark—rosette stops—reverse cross ending no. 7. (Pl. XI. 36)
- (c) The bust and the lettering are smaller:
 - (1) No mint-mark—crosses in saltire as stops—reverse cross ending no. 7. (Pl. XI. 37)
 - (2) Mint-mark lis—crosses in saltire as stops—reverse cross ending no. 7 (Pl. XI. 38). Seems to be unpublished.
 - (3) Mint-mark pheon—crosses in saltire as stops—reverse cross ending no. 7. (Pl. XI. 39)

CANTERBURY:

Type III. (a) Mint-mark 'eye in profile'—no stops visible—Morton's Ω on reverse (Pl. XI. 41). This is the first of the two coins published by Mr. P. Frank Purvey in *BNJ* xxx, pt. i, pp. 191–2 (Fig. 3) and appears to be of type IIIa.

- (b) Mint-mark large lis—rosette stops—no Ω on reverse—reverse cross ending no. 7. (Pl. XI. 42)

It has not proved possible to trace the Canterbury halfpenny with no mint-mark and crosses in saltire as stops given in Brooke's *English Coins*.

YORK:

Type IIIc. Mint-mark perhaps martlet—crosses in saltire as stops—key below bust—reverse cross ending no. 7. (Pl. XI. 43)

3. *The farthings.* A few little coins of this reign are known that by reason of their weight can safely be called farthings. The weights of the three specimens examined are:

British Museum	2·8 gr.
Fitzwilliam	2·6 gr.
E. J. W. (ex L. A. L.)	2·3 gr. (Pl. XI. 44)

The crown is arched and the legend appears to be HENRIC DI GRA REX CIVITAS LONDON. The student should perhaps remember the warning given by L. A. Lawrence in his paper (*NC*, 1919, pp. 265–8) on the 'Halfpence and Farthings of Henry VIII' that any farthing-like coin weighing 3 gr. or more is likely to be a clipped halfpenny. The paper also quotes Ruding as saying that in the reign of Henry VIII the people had difficulty in distinguishing farthings from half-pence until the portcullis type farthing was introduced. Lawrence suggests that in the early part of the reign of Henry VIII, and possibly in that of Henry VII too, farthings and half-pence were possibly struck from the same dies.

[*To be concluded*]

KEY TO PLATES
PLATE X

CHAPTER VI: *Profile Coins*

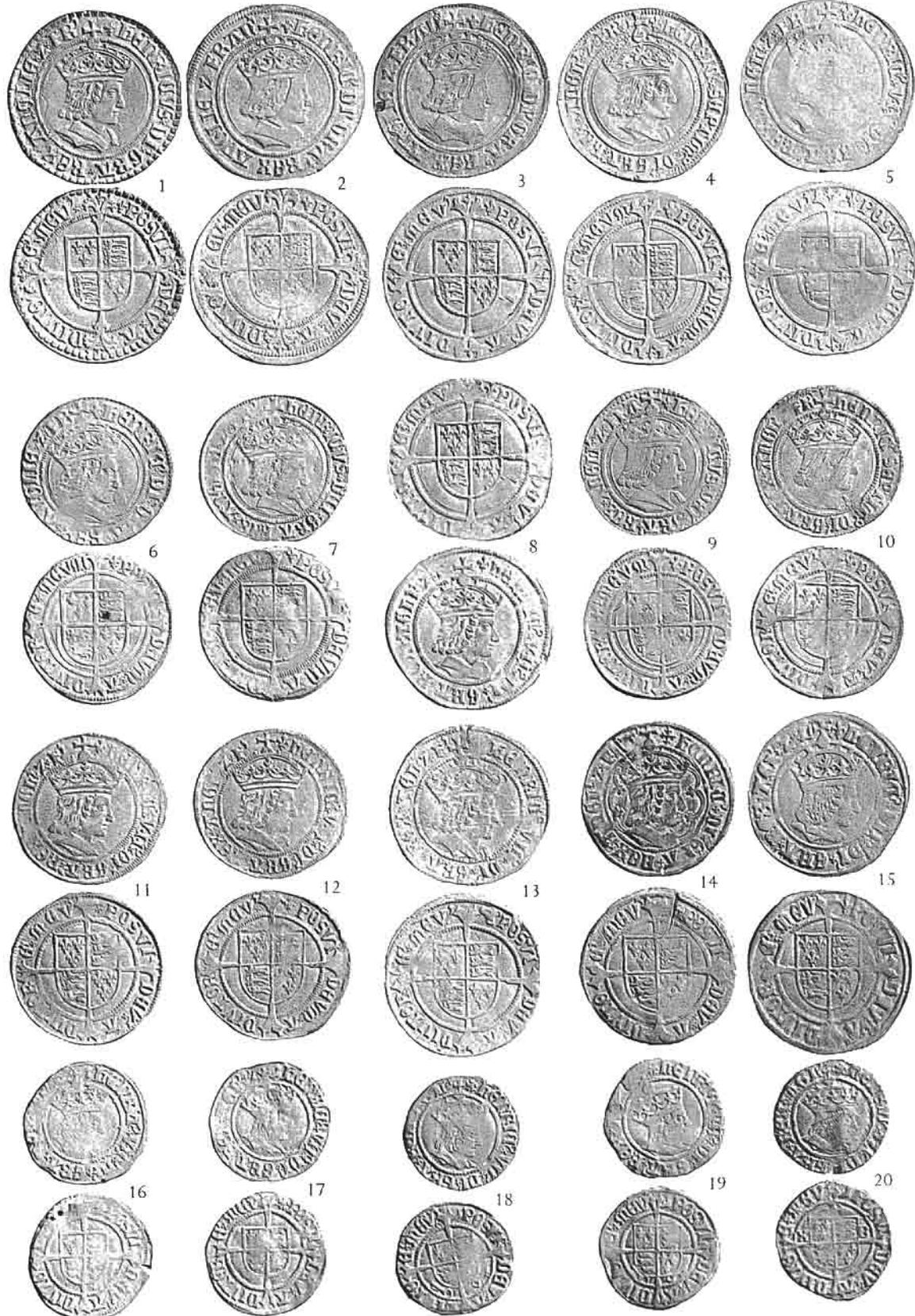
1. Shilling, type 1, die 1, small lis. *Rev. I-1* (Fitz.).
2. " " die 2, " *Rev. I-2* (Ryan 967).
3. " " " " *Rev. II-6*, large lis (BM).
4. " type 2, die 3. *Rev. II-3*, large lis b.s. (BM).
5. " " die 6. *Rev. II-5*, large lis b.s. (EJW ex Ryan 971).
6. Tentative groat, type 1a, small lis b.s., shilling lettering on obverse (EJW).
7. " " type 1b, no mm./large lis, shilling lettering on reverse (EJW).
8. " " type IIb, die 14, large lis. *Rev. Shilling die II-1* (BM).
9. " " type 1a, small lis/large lis, shilling lettering on obverse (EJW).
10. " " HENRIC. SEPTIM, no mm./large lis, reverse no. 11 (BM).
11. " " type IIb, large lis/no mm, reverse no. 10 (RCL 1721)
12. " " type IIb, large lis b.s. reverse no. 11 (RCL?)
13. " " type IIc, GH 2 b.s. (Fitz.)
14. 'Tressure' groat reading ANGL, mm. crosslet b.s. (BM).
15. Regular groat, mm. lis/pheon, altered obverse mark (Hunterian).
16. Half-groat, Canterbury, mm. martlet/rose, *rev. no. 10* (EJW).
17. " " " " " *rev. no. 11* (EJW).
18. " York, mm. rose/martlet, *rev. no. 10* (EJW).
19. " " " " " *rev. no. 11* (EJW).
20. " " " " " HENRIC. VII on *obv.* and x-b on *rev.* (BM).

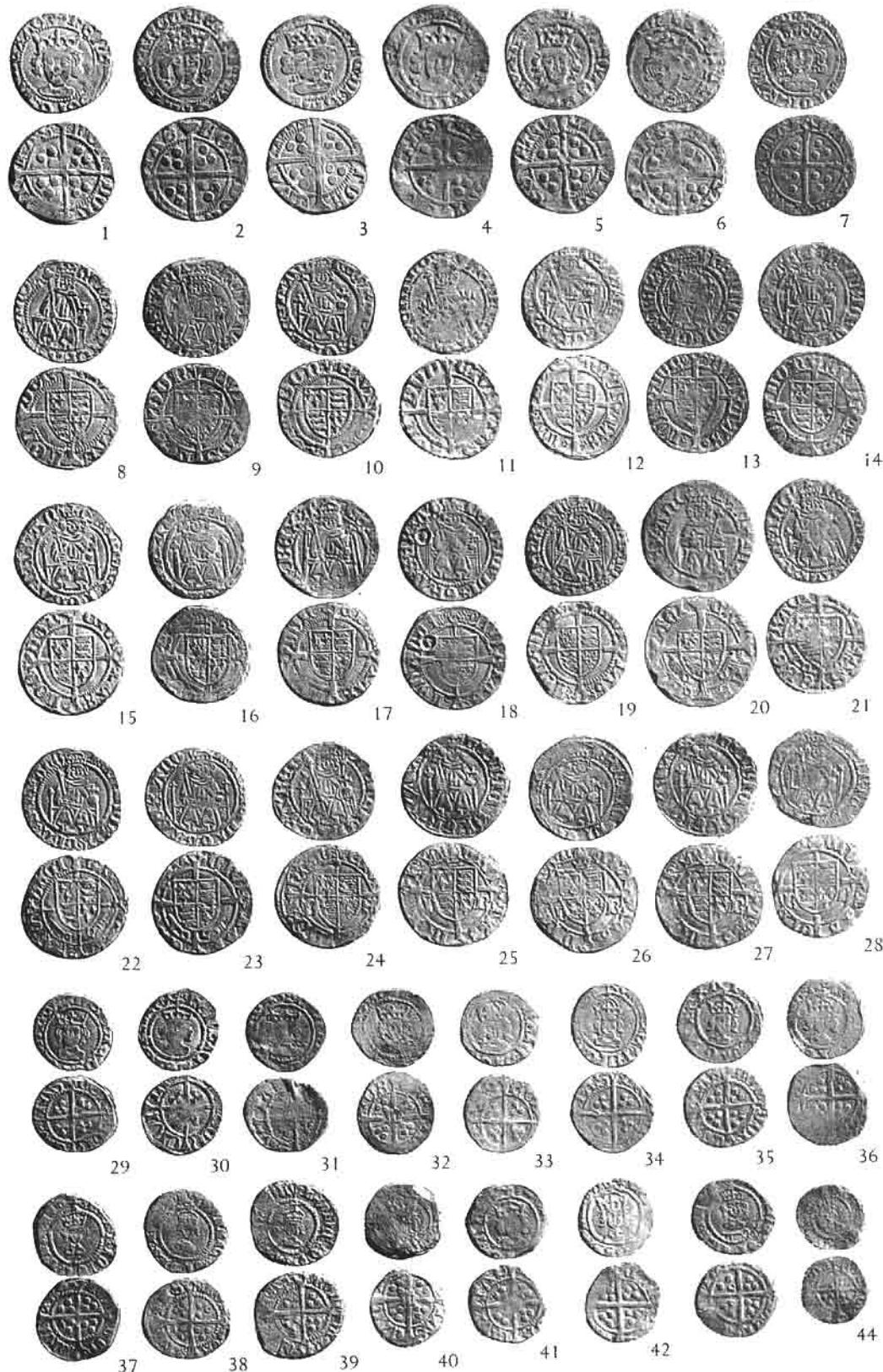
PLATE XI

CHAPTER VII: *Pence, Half-pence and Farthing*

1. Open crown London penny of type I (RCL 1702).
2. Open crown London penny of type II (Ashm.).
3. Open crown penny of Canterbury of type II (BM).
4. Open crown penny of York of type I (EJW).
5. Open crown penny of York of type II (LAL).
6. Open crown penny of Durham of type II (LAL).
7. Arched crown penny of Canterbury (EJW).
8. Sovereign penny of London of type I (BM ex RCL 1713).
9. Sovereign penny of London of type IIa (EJW).
10. Sovereign penny of London of type IIb (EJW).
11. Sovereign penny of London of type IIc/IIb (BM ex LAL).
12. Sovereign penny of London of type IIb/IIc (BM ex LAL).
13. Sovereign penny of London of type IIc (Hunterian).
14. Sovereign penny of London of type IIIa (EJW).
15. Sovereign penny of London of type IIIb (LAL).
16. Sovereign penny of London of type IIIb (pansy) (BM ex LAL).
17. Sovereign penny of London of type IVa (EJW).
18. Sovereign penny of London of type IVb (EJW).
19. Sovereign penny of London of type IVc (EJW).
20. Sovereign penny of York of type I (EJW).
21. Sovereign penny of York of type IIb (EJW).
22. Sovereign penny of York of type IIc (EJW).
23. Sovereign penny of York of type IIIb (EJW).
24. Sovereign penny of Durham of type IIb (EJW).
25. Sovereign penny of Durham of type IIc (EJW).
26. Sovereign penny of Durham of type IIIb (EJW).
27. Sovereign penny of Durham of type IIIb (variety) (EJW).

28. Sovereign penny of Durham of type IIIb (variety) (EJW).
29. Open crown halfpenny of London of type Ia (EJW).
30. Open crown halfpenny of London of type Ib (CEB).
31. Open crown halfpenny of London of type Ic (Hunterian).
32. Open crown halfpenny of Canterbury of type I (BM).
33. Double arched crown halfpenny of London of type IIa (EJW).
34. Single arched crown halfpenny of London of type IIb (EJW).
35. Single arched crown halfpenny of London of type IIIa (EJW).
36. Single arched crown halfpenny of London of type IIIb (EJW).
37. Single arched crown halfpenny of London of type IIIc 1 (EJW).
38. Single arched crown halfpenny of London of type IIIc 2 (EJW).
39. Single arched crown halfpenny of London of type IIIc 3 (EJW).
40. Double arched crown halfpenny of Canterbury of type II (BNJ xxx, i, p. 19).
41. Single arched crown halfpenny of Canterbury of type IIIa (BNJ xxx, i, p. 19).
42. Single arched crown halfpenny of Canterbury of type IIIc (EJW).
43. Single arched crown halfpenny of York of type IIIc (EJW).
44. Farthing of London (EJW).





THE COINAGE OF EDWARD VI IN HIS OWN NAME

W. J. W. POTTER

PART I. SECOND PERIOD: JANUARY 1549 TO OCTOBER 1551

INTRODUCTION

THE first period of Edward's coinage, from his accession in January 1547 to near the end of January 1549, was merely a continuation of the last period of his father's reign, and in fact the two indentures of April 1547 and February 1548, making up the first and second issues or coinages, provided merely for the continued striking of the current 20-ct. gold sovereigns and halves and the 4-oz. silver testoons, groats, and smaller money. Thus not only were the standards and denominations unaltered, but the only change in the great majority of coins was to be found on the half-sovereigns, where a youthful figure replaced that of the old king on the throne, though still with Henry's name. Only a very few half-sovereigns are known of this type actually bearing Edward's name. On the silver, where no change at all occurred, the coins of the two reigns are conveniently divided by the substitution of Roman letters for the old Lombardic lettering which occurred about this time, at first sometimes on one side only.

The coinage of this first period has already been described and discussed in this *Journal* by Mr. C. A. Whitton in his articles entitled 'The Coinages of Henry VIII and Edward VI in Henry's Name' (vol. xxvi, 1949). These actually include the half-sovereigns in Edward's name mentioned above and also the rare groats with his name and profile portrait which were undoubtedly struck during this first period. They also include the groats and smaller money which were coined during the remaining periods as they always bore Henry's name and portrait. In this article, therefore, it is proposed to deal with the rest of Edward's issues during the second and third periods comprising the crown and fine gold money and the 8-oz., 6-oz., and 3-oz. shillings.

In addition to Whitton's papers all the base silver has also been fully covered by Mr. R. Carlyon-Britton in a series of articles published in Spink's *Numismatic Circular* over the months from July 1949 to May 1950. For some reason these articles have been largely overlooked and are not now, perhaps, very readily accessible. I have necessarily utilized much of the material supplied by Carlyon-Britton, and have had the opportunity of examining a large part of the many specimens which he assembled and listed, the most significant of which have since been acquired by the British Museum.

As I am not dealing with the small silver, Carlyon-Britton's coinages do not always agree with mine. I have kept these to the several indentures and commissions which altered the terms of minting. In addition I have transferred the 3-oz. shillings from the third to the second period to which they so obviously belong. It is entirely illogical and misleading to include them in the third period as is usually done, as it gives the impression that the very base and the fine money was being issued simultaneously when in fact the former appeared more than a year before the latter and had ceased to be issued some months before the appearance of the fine money.

The issue of the 3-oz. shillings was the unfortunate but necessary preliminary to the restoration of the coinage, as the only means of raising the money required to buy the bullion in the impoverished state of the country's finances. They represent no break whatever in the general issue of base shillings, merely a change in the fineness. The bust was the same as the last which appeared on the 6-oz. shillings, and in fact there are probably mules between the two standards. The fine silver coinage, on the other hand, represented a complete break with the old money in every way, and this alone would justify its relegation to a separate period.

Here is a summary of the various coinages of the reign arranged as explained above:

First Period

1st Coinage, Apr. 1547 20-ct. gold and 4-oz. silver mostly in Henry VIII's name.
2nd Coinage, Feb. 1548

Second Period

3rd Coinage, Jan. 1549, Crown gold sovereigns of $169\frac{1}{2}$ gr., $\frac{1}{2}$ -sovs. of 86 gr., $\frac{1}{4}$ -sovs. and $\frac{1}{8}$ -sovs. in proportion. 8-oz. shillings of 60 gr.
4th Coinage, Apr. 1549, Crown gold as before, but 6-oz. shillings of 80 gr.
5th Coinage, ? June 1550, 3-oz. shillings of 80 gr.

Third Period

6th Coinage, Dec. 1550, Fine gold of which only a pattern was apparently struck.
7th Coinage, Oct. 1551, Fine gold sovereign of 30s. wt. 240 gr., angel of 10s. wt. 80 gr. and angelot of 40 gr. Crown gold sovereign of 20s. wt. $174\frac{1}{2}$ gr., $\frac{1}{2}$ -sov., crown, and $\frac{1}{2}$ -crown in proportion. Fine silver crown of 480 gr., half-crown, shilling, and sixpence in proportion. 3d. added later. Also sovereign penny.

Full details of the indentures and commissions listed have been given in an important article by Henry Symonds in this *Journal* for 1915, vol. xi, entitled 'The English Coinages of Edward VI' to which reference is recommended. Any additional information which has since come to hand can be found in Whitton. Here I will only summarize the general sequence of events. But first a word as to the mints operating at this time.

The main establishment at the Tower at the beginning of the reign had been divided into three, each under one of the joint under-treasurers, namely, Sir Martin Bowes, Stephen Vaughan, and Thomas Knight, but by the beginning of the second period only that of Sir Martin Bowes was still functioning. In addition, however, there were no less than four provincial mints at work, at Southwark under John Yorke, at Canterbury under William Tillesworth, at York under George Gale and finally at Bristol under William Sharington replaced in January 1549 by Sir Thomas Chamberlain, while a fifth was opened in December 1548 at Durham House in the Strand under John Bowes, a distant relative of Sir Martin.

The main purpose of all these mints was, at first, the flooding of the country with the base coinage of Henry VIII, especially the 9-oz. testoons, and later their recoinage into still baser money. As the inflow of the better money declined, all but one of these outside mints were closed, Bristol and Durham House in October 1549, Canterbury in February 1550, and Southwark some time early in 1551, while at York, though it continued working until the end of 1551, only groats and smaller money were struck after 1549.

Southwark, Canterbury, and York relied entirely on the Tower for their dies, but Durham House and Bristol were apparently independent establishments having their

own graver. At Bristol Castle we know that the staff included a graver, Giles Evenet, but the indenture establishing the staff at Durham House has been lost. Though later in the period the busts on the Tower coins were reproduced with modified detail at both these mints, none of the Tower punches appears to have been used in the preparation of any of their dies.

SECOND PERIOD

The second period of the coinage opened with the Proclamation of 24 January 1549 (Harley MS. 38) 'stating that the King, to the intent that money might be more plentifully and richly made, had caused certain new coins to be struck, namely the 20s., 10s. or Edward royall, 5s. and 2s. 6d. in gold, shillings and half shillings' (H. Symonds, *op. cit.*, p. 136). On the same day a commission was signed and sent to Sir Edmund Peckham, the treasurer, and Sir Martin Bowes, under-treasurer at the Tower mint, ordering the striking of this coinage. The terms are not known as the document is missing though mentioned in Bowes's accounts. There is little doubt, however, that they were the same as those embodied in the similar commission which has survived to John Bowes, treasurer of the mint within the king's manor of Durham House, Strand, dated 29 January 1548/9, ordering him to strike the four coins of crown gold according to the proclamation and the two coins of 8-oz. silver. The 4-oz. groats and smaller money of the previous indenture were to be continued. The part of the order concerning the 8- and 4-oz. silver was also sent to the mints of Bristol and Canterbury, and presumably also to Southwark, though all records of this mint have been lost. The half-shillings are unknown of any mint, and would presumably have been impracticable as they would have weighed less than the groats.

Incidentally, it will be noted that the name Edward Royal is applied in the Proclamation to all the half-sovereigns to be coined, and as this is dated five days before the commission to Durham House, the exclusive application of this name to the Durham House coins is incorrect.

That a new coinage of improved standard had been provided was actually a delusion, for instead of a rise in intrinsic value, the gold was slightly reduced, while the silver remained unchanged, i.e. in place of a sovereign containing 160 gr. of fine gold one of only 155½ gr. was ordered, while in place of the 120-gr. testoon of 4-oz. silver, one of half the weight but twice the fineness was to be issued.

The existence side by side of a 40-gr. groat and a 60-gr. shilling, however, was soon found to be too much even for the bemused public to swallow, and on 12 April 1549 a new commission was sent to Peckham and Bowes at the Tower, to John Bowes at Durham House and to Chamberlain and Tillesworth at Bristol and Canterbury, ordering them to strike the shillings at 72 to the lb. or 80 gr. each, but of 6-oz. instead of 8-oz. silver. These 6-oz. shillings form the bulk of the silver money of the second period, and they continued to be struck until the summer of 1550.

No commission has survived for the change in the standard from 6- to 3-oz. silver which occurred probably in July 1550. Ruding quotes an entry in the king's journal for 18 June of that year that it had been decided to strike these very base shillings, and it is probable that an order was issued to the Tower and Southwark shortly afterwards. The plan was to coin 20,000 lb. weight of silver to provide a profit of £160,000 and with this to pay off pressing debts of the administration and also to build up a fund for buying

bullion. This was in preparation for the task they then had before them, namely to bring the coinage back again to the fine standard which had existed for centuries before 1544 and which had given English money the pre-eminent position it enjoyed among world coinages. No records of the amount of this coinage eventually struck can now be found but it certainly continued well into 1551.

A. *Silver*

It is now possible to turn our attention to the coins produced under these various orders, and, contrary to normal practice, I propose to deal first with the silver. This, though confined to one denomination, the shilling, is much more complex than the gold, due firstly to the three standards and two different weights employed, secondly to the large number of mint-marks with muling and over-stamping, combined with the date on every coin, and lastly to the many modifications made to the bust. The reduction of all these to a simple sequence of issue should then make it possible to fit the gold coinage, at present virtually unclassified, into the general picture.

The second-period silver can be divided into three types coinciding with the three coinages which make it up, namely:

1. (3rd coinage)—the 8-oz. shillings dated 1549 with *TIMOR* legend on the obverse;
2. (4th coinage)—the 6-oz. shillings dated 1549 and 1550, with *TIMOR* legend on the reverse;
3. (5th coinage)—the 3-oz. shillings, mm. *lis*, *lion*, and *rose*, dated 1550 and 1551.

The last-mentioned are distinguished from the 6-oz. shillings partly by their appearance but more certainly by the mint-marks listed, which were confined solely to this type. Among these three types are to be found seven different busts but normally only one reverse design. The Durham House and Bristol issues can be included in these types, the former belonging only to the third and fourth coinages, and the latter which is extremely rare, only to the fourth, but the reverses and busts do not come into the normal series.

1. *The Third Coinage* (type 1). The general type of the base shilling was foreshadowed by the pattern produced very early in Edward's reign, with mint-mark *rose* and the date *MDXLVII* (cf. Lockett sale, lot 1882) having the crowned profile portrait on the obverse, and on the reverse a garnished shield between *ER* and the legend: *TIMOR. DOMINI. FONS. VITÆ*. Political considerations and the desirability of disassociating the new reign as long as possible from the deplorable debasement of the previous administration were probably the reasons for delaying the general issue for two years, and when this was finally authorized in January 1549 two versions of the type appeared. Durham House copied the pattern almost exactly, including the frosted crown and the elaborate tunic and collar on the obverse (Bust no. 1), and the large reverse shield (Pl. XII. 1). The other mints, however, produced a simplified version with what I have called Bust no. 2, distinguished by the large head, and a reverse having a smaller and less-elaborately garnished shield as found on nearly all the subsequent shillings (Pl. XII. 3). According to Sir Thomas Chamberlain's account Bristol struck no 8-oz. shillings and none have been identified.

Both these issues, as mentioned, are distinguished from the subsequent types firstly by their weight, 60 gr. (average say 55), and secondly by the legends being reversed, with *TIMOR. DOMINI* and the date *MDXLIX* on the obverse. Carlyon-Britton and others have listed a coin from Durham House (mint-mark *bow*) having the king's name spelt

EDWARDVS on the obverse and the TIMOR legend and date MDXLVIII on the reverse, supposed to have been struck there in the first period, though the mint was only established in December. There are actually three slightly different specimens of this in the British Museum, but whatever they are they are not coin struck for currency. They are of a brass alloy probably originally silvered, they weigh between 63 and 69 gr. and appear to have been produced by some form of stamping machine (Pl. XII. 2). It is just possible that they are patterns for the new coinage but they look more like medalets of continental origin, of the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century. It is curious, however, that they should reproduce the Durham House bust, unless it was copied from the original rose-marked pattern mentioned. In any case, as already stated, the order for the striking of the first coins at Durham House is dated 29 January. It is also quite clear from the coins produced by the other mints in execution of this order, mostly in February 1549, that the new style dating of the year as beginning on 1 January had been officially adopted at this time, as they are all dated 1549, as are, in fact, the regular Durham House 8-oz. shillings.

The mint-marks found on both sides of these type 1 coins are: bow for Durham House (John Bowes), arrow for the Tower (Sir Martin Bowes) and χ for Southwark (John Yorke). There are, however, three groups of shillings of this type without any mint-mark on the obverse which present certain puzzling features. The first has a rose on the reverse and is usually attributed to Canterbury in view of the fact that some of the base groats from this mint have the rose as mint-mark, and Canterbury certainly received the order to coin the new shillings. The second has no mint-mark on either side and is usually attributed to the Tower, but I think this very unlikely, as all Sir Martin Bowes's coins throughout the period were scrupulously marked with emblems usually taken from his arms or perhaps his name. These unmarked shillings should, I think, be attributed to York, as all the smaller money bearing this mint-name on the reverse has no mint-mark. I am aware that no order for this coinage is known to have been addressed to that mint and that no accounts for shillings struck there have been discovered, but neither is there known any order for Southwark other than for groats nor any return of money coined, and yet the χ of John Yorke is one of the commonest and longest-used of any mark in the series. In the next coinage a significant pointer to a coinage of shillings at York will be discussed. Incidentally these no-mint-mark coins differ from those of the other groups in the spelling VITE, as on all later shillings.

The third and last of these unusual coins with no mint-mark on the obverse has the arrow on the reverse and so must be recognized as a Tower coin, though obviously an exceptional one, as it is the only shilling die known to me from that mint with the mint-mark on one side only. Two features make it very puzzling indeed. Firstly, only one obverse die is known and the bust used is different from any other of the period (Pl. XII. 4). I have called it no. 3. It has the same crown as no. 2 but the profile and tunic decoration have been modified. Secondly, of the three coins I have seen from this die, two weigh just over 50 gr. but the third weighs 71 gr. and must therefore have been struck under the amending order of 12 April increasing the weight to 80 gr. As will shortly be seen, however, all the other shillings struck under this order have bust no. 4 and the legends are arranged in the normal way. I have no explanation to offer for the existence of this curious die, but it was obviously being used at the Tower in April 1549 just when the standard was being changed.

2. *The Fourth Coinage* (type 2). One would have thought that the order to change the fineness and weight of the shilling would have involved merely technical and administrative changes, an alteration in the mixing of the alloy and in the preparation of the blanks, using thicker sheets of metal if the flans were to remain the same size. What is therefore very surprising indeed is to find that the new issue of 80-gr. shillings brought a complete change of style as well. Not only was an entirely new bust engraved and the legends transposed, as already mentioned, but all the old letter punches were discarded and a new plainer alphabet employed. Furthermore, it was as though a new and less conscientious spirit was abroad in the mint, if not a new staff employed. The blanks were prepared with less care, the letters were irregularly punched in and the finished coins were less pleasing in appearance. Although other busts were subsequently introduced, no such change occurred again, and in fact, when the final debasement to the 3-oz. shillings was made, only the mint-marks were altered, the bust, style, and detail remained the same. At this distance of time and in the absence of any but the most laconic of official documents I cannot even hazard a guess for this state of affairs; I can only record it.

The new and smaller bust (no. 4), which distinguishes the first type 2 base shillings from the Tower, Southwark, and Canterbury, is immediately identified by the noticeable hollow or gap which appears just behind the arm and I have called these type 2a. The mint-marks used are the arrow and Y at the Tower and Southwark as before, with an additional mark, the grapple, from the former, and a small 't' for Tillesworth from Canterbury. The reverses are usually of the normal type as before, but I have noted two coins with a larger and more elaborately garnished shield, larger even than the Durham House type which it closely resembles. These coins are of the marks Y (BM ex RCB, Pl. XII. 5) and grapple (RCL 4365). This link between these marks will be discussed later.

The Durham House issues, with mint-mark bow, continued with the original bust and reverse but employed a new obverse legend: INIMICOS.EIVS.INDVAM.CONFVSIONE without the date. Shillings with this legend on the reverse are also known, though extremely rare. The only known Bristol shilling of this coinage is in the British Museum (Pl. XII. 6), and has a normal Tower obverse with bust no. 4 and the mint-mark TC in monogram struck over G. The reverse has a larger shield than normal, something like the Durham House design but with curious curved lines for the quartering divisions. There are roses before and after the date MDXLIX, and the mint-mark is the monogram TC.

The coins of this type (2a) were probably issued during the first six months or so of 1549. The remainder of the second period 6-oz. shillings have different busts. They covered the period up to the summer of 1550 and are much less scarce than those of type 2a, but before passing on to these there are four coins of the latter type with overstamped marks which need special mention. The first is the Bristol shilling with TC (monogram) over G just mentioned, and two of the others have a similar mark, a Southwark shilling with Y over G on the reverse and a Canterbury shilling with 't' over G on both sides. Both these coins were in Carlyon-Britton's collection and are now in the British Museum. Carlyon-Britton suggested, and I agree, that this shows that obverse and reverse shilling dies of this issue were prepared for the York mint under George Gale but not used, and the dies were subsequently overstamped and sent for use at Bristol, Southwark, and Canterbury. It was to these overstamped dies that I referred when discussing the attribution of the no-mint-mark coins to York. In the case of

Canterbury we see that the no-mint-mark obverse and rose reverse of type 1 gave place in the new 80-gr. issue to dies with a small 't' for Tillesworth on both sides, and it seems to me that if we find dies for the second issue with G for Gale on both sides, though not so used, it is logical to assume that the previous unmarked issue matching the smaller money without mint-mark should be from York.¹

The fourth coin is another Southwark shilling which has a reverse with Y over grapple. This coupled with the existence of the shillings of these two marks each with the same unusual reverse shield might well suggest that the grapple was a Southwark mark. Later, however, another case of the overstamping of a Tower die with Y will be encountered and I think that the simple explanation is that these were emergency issues to Southwark when an extra die was suddenly required. The grapple has also been attributed to Durham House on the strength of a REDDE.CVIQVE groat quoted by Snelling as having a grapple-marked reverse. This coin has not since been traced, but there is an undoubtedly half-groat of the period, noted by Whitton, with the marks arrow/grapple and the POSVI legend, which I think confirms that this is a Tower mark. It is true that the origin of this mark, found also on the smaller money, is something of a puzzle. The arrow for Sir Martin Bowes is an obvious heraldic emblem as his arms were surmounted by a sheaf of arrows. Similarly, the swan which later replaced the arrow as his chief mark appears in the arms themselves, and the martlet which followed the swan could be considered a martin, but the grapple remains unexplained on these terms.

However, I think there is a reasonable explanation for this and the other unusual Tower marks which will be encountered. Although officially there was only one establishment at the Tower at this time, it will appear that two marks must have been used there contemporaneously during the fourth coinage, one being fairly common and the other rare and obviously secondary. I am going to take the grapple, therefore, as the first of these secondaries, and though the primary marks used at the Tower can definitely be related to Sir Martin Bowes, I do not think it is necessary to look for such a close link in the case of these secondaries, although some, as will be seen, can with a stretch of the imagination be so attributed.

Some time still in 1549 a new bust, no. 5, was produced for the shillings, and is found still with the same marks as no. 4, i.e. arrow and grapple for the Tower, Y for Southwark and 't' or T for Canterbury. It is distinguished from no. 4 by the fact that the hollow behind the arm has been filled in, but the profile and decoration of the tunic also differ (Pl. XII. 7). This new bust constitutes type 2b and it apparently lasted for only a very short while, for some of the arrow shillings are found with a sixth bust which has larger and more elaborately decorated lapels and collar to the tunic, as well as a slightly different profile. This sixth bust constitutes type 2c and it was continued for the rest of 1549 and, from the mints still operating, i.e. only the Tower and Southwark, during the early months of 1550.

The marks found on the shillings of type 2c dated 1549 are: Arrow, as mentioned above, pheon and swan (Tower), and Y (Southwark). The Tower marks introduce a new secondary, the pheon, much rarer than the grapple, and also a new practice which did

¹ I have recently acquired a shilling of type 1 which has interesting possibilities. It has no mint-mark on the obverse but certainly had a mint-mark on the reverse, though now almost obliterated, as there is a wide space between the two lozenges beginning and

ending the legend. Towards the lozenge after REX there is part of a curved letter which could only be RC (monogram) or G. It can only be hoped that a clearer specimen will one day come to light. (Pl. XII. 3.)

not occur with the previous primary and secondary, namely a series of mules linking the three marks in almost all possible combinations, i.e.:

Arrow/pheon 1549
Pheon/arrow 1549

Pheon/swan 1549
Pheon/swan 1550

Arrow/swan 1549
Swan/arrow 1549

I think, however, that these mules do prove that the commoner marks arrow and swan were the primaries, and that the swan replaced the arrow shortly after the introduction of the pheon in place of the grapple. The pheon is a reasonable mark for Sir Martin Bowes as it would do as well for the head of an arrow as for the head of a pike. It is, incidentally, identical with the mark used by Henry VII and Henry VIII. In view of its great rarity, however, only one true coin being known (BM ex RCB, Pl. XII. 9), it is certainly curious to find it muled with both primaries and also on the obverse of a coin with the date 1550 on the reverse. One of these, in Carlyon-Britton's collection, was listed by him as pheon/martlet, but, though indistinct, the reverse mint-mark is unquestionably a swan. The second specimen I have noted is in the British Museum and the marks are perfectly clear.

Contemporary with types 2b and early 2c both Durham House and Bristol produced shillings with a somewhat similar bust, though with the usual individual differences. The Durham House shillings, mint-mark bow, are of two types, one with the INIMICOS legend on the obverse and the other with the legends normally placed. In both cases the reverse shield and letters ER are somewhat smaller than in the previous type. Neither are dated. The very rare Bristol shillings have the mint-mark rose and TC on both sides, and a reverse shield which is a close copy of that used by Durham House (Pl. XII. 8).

Among the type 2c coins dated 1549 we encounter another case of the interchange of dies between the Tower and Southwark. The coin with Y on the obverse and arrow on the reverse in the British Museum is an undoubtedly forgery, but there is a genuine coin with swan over Y on the obverse and swan on the reverse from Carlyon-Britton's collection now in the British Museum. This is a reverse exchange to the previous cases and the obverse die must have been a spare which was taken over and used at the Tower.

As already mentioned, type 2c was continued from the Tower and Southwark with date 1550 (MDL), and the first marks found with the later date are the swan for the Tower and Y for Southwark as before. The swan, however, is now found in two forms. The original or elementary type was still used for the earliest of the 1550 shillings, but this was shortly changed to a more elaborate form with longer curved neck, prominent wing, and tail turned down at the back to give the appearance of three thick legs instead of two small ones. Coins with this later version are rare, as the swan was soon replaced by a new primary, the martlet or martin, an obvious choice for Sir Martin Bowes. Meanwhile, however, still another die interchange between the Tower and Southwark is known in which the later-type swan mark on the obverse is overstamped with a Y instead of vice versa, though the coin has a swan on the reverse as before. In Carlyon-Britton's list this coin, now in the British Museum, had against it the remark, 'After Sir John Yorke's transfer to the Tower mint.' This would be a convenient solution to this curious combination but I do not think it can be sustained. Sir John was at Southwark till it closed early in 1551 and by that time the 3-oz. shillings had been in issue for about six months and the swan mark had been obsolete much longer. I cannot suggest where such a coin would have been struck.

The martlet continued as the primary mark for the Tower with γ for Southwark until the end of the issue of 6-oz. shillings some time in the summer of 1550, but in the meantime its accompanying secondary made its appearance. This mark was known to Carlyon-Britton only on the reverse of two martlet coins and he was unable to identify it. These reverses are from different dies and in both cases the mark is obscure, due to what appears to be rusting of the dies. Carlyon-Britton could only guess that it might be a capital T for Canterbury, a very unlikely combination indeed, apart from the fact that no Canterbury dies are known dated 1550. Most fortunately I have recently acquired a unique coin with the mark clearly shown on both sides (Pl. XII. 10), the reverse being from the same die as one of Carlyon-Britton's mule coins, but what the mark is still cannot be said with certainty. A suggestion by Mr. Dolley that it represents a 'marten' skin stretched out to dry is a possibility and as I have nothing better to suggest I am calling the mark 'pelt'. The great rarity of the coins confirms that we have here the last secondary Tower mark.

Some time not long before the appearance of the 3-oz. shillings, which was probably in August 1550, a seventh bust appeared on the 6-oz. coins, constituting type 2d. This bust is notably better than any of the previous versions, being distinguished by the elegant slender neck and delicate profile and the decorated high collar. This bust is found on 6-oz. coins with marks martlet and γ only (Pl. XII. 11), but it is just possible that one might be found one day with mint-mark pelt. This last issue of the 6-oz. shillings is rare and cannot have lasted more than a month at most.

3. *The Fifth Coinage* (type 3). It is apparent that the new issue of 3-oz. shillings, though utilizing the seventh bust just described, was to be kept entirely separate from the previous one, for a new series of mint-marks was introduced to emphasize the separation, viz. lion, lis, and rose. In this case we need not look for any connexion between the mint-masters and the selected marks, although it is true that lions' heads occur in Sir Martin Bowes's arms. It seems most likely that it had been decided to make the king responsible for these very base shillings, for the three marks chosen are the principal royal emblems.

As to the mints which used these marks, it has already been suggested that the Southwark mint did not close until some time early in 1551 and it is only reasonable to except that some of the 3-oz. shillings would be struck there, though not usually so attributed. In fact, however, there are rare mules which confirm this and also indicate the new mark chosen for these coins at Southwark. There are two of these mules in the British Museum, one with the marks lis/ γ dated 1550 and the other with γ /lis dated 1551. The true coins with the mark lis are dated only in 1551 (Pl. XII. 12). I think there can be little doubt that the lis was the mark used at Southwark until it closed, which is thus definitely shown to have been in 1551. At any rate, there is no room for this mark in the Tower series, which commenced with the lion in 1550, carried on with it into 1551, and followed it with the rose in the latter year. There is, in fact, in Carlyon-Britton's collection a rather worn coin with lion on the obverse and rose over lion on the reverse (not vice versa as stated in his list), which closes any gap there might have been between these two marks. The Southwark mules mentioned also show that production of the 3-oz. shillings at that mint did not commence until the turn of the year, as the first lis dies are dated 1551, though one obverse is found with a reverse dated 1550.

Finally it should be mentioned that an issue of £5,000 worth of very base shillings

was made for Ireland in the summer of 1552. These all have mint-mark harp, the date 1552, and are almost entirely of coppery brass (Ruding says 3 parts in 240 of silver). Of all these base issues a large number of forgeries in silvered copper or lead have survived, varying greatly in their resemblance to the originals. Among them I might mention a harp/lis mule which might just possibly have formed part of the Irish issue.

This completes the story of the base shillings and it is now time to turn to the parallel issues of the second-period crown gold money, consisting of sovereigns, half-sovereigns, and the quarter- and half-quarter-sovereigns with the crowned and uncrowned portraits. Meanwhile here is a list of the types of the base shillings with the respective busts and the mint-marks known:

SECOND PERIOD BASE SHILLINGS FROM TOWER DIES

<i>Third Coinage (8 oz.)</i>	
Type 1, TIMOR on obv. (Bust no. 2)	Swan I over Y/Swan I t, t/T, T b.s. (Canterbury) Y b.s.
Arrow b.s. VITÆ	
Y b.s. VITÆ	Type 2c, 1550 (Bust no. 6)
—/rose VITÆ (?Canterbury)	Pheon/Swan I
—/— VITÆ (?York)	Swan I b.s.
—/arrow VITÆ (Bust no. 3)	Swan I/Swan II Swan II/Swan I Swan II b.s.
<i>Fourth Coinage (6 oz.)</i>	
Type 2a, TIMOR on rev. (Bust no. 4)	Y over Swan II/Y Y b.s.
Arrow b.s.	Martlet b.s.
Grapple b.s.	Martlet/pelt
Y b.s.	Pelt b.s.
Y/Y over G	
Y/Y over grapple	Type 2d, 1550 (Bust no. 7)
t over G b.s.	Martlet b.s.
t b.s.	Y b.s.
Type 2b, 1549 (Bust no. 5)	
Arrow b.s.	<i>Fifth Coinage (3 oz.)</i>
Grapple b.s.	Type 3, 1550 (Bust no. 7)
Y b.s. (not yet noted)	Lion b.s.
t b.s.	Lis/Y
Type 2a, 1549 (Bust no. 6)	Type 3, 1551.
Arrow/pheon	Y/Lis
Pheon/arrow	Lis b.s.
Pheon b.s.	Lion b.s.
Pheon/swan I	Lion/rose over lion
Arrow/swan I	Rose b.s.
Swan I/arrow	Type 4, 1552 (Ireland)
Swan I b.s.	Harp.

B. Gold

Having provided a very detailed picture of the silver of the second period, relating the mint-marks used to the various types and styles, it is now possible to describe the gold and show how it will fit into this framework. Though it is much less complex than the silver and the mint-marks and types used are much fewer, nevertheless the same

general pattern emerges, and, in fact, the idea of the use of secondary and primary marks at the Tower receives additional support from these coins.

As already mentioned, the 22-ct. gold series ordered by the indenture of 24 January 1549 consisted of sovereign, half-sovereign, quarter- and half-quarter-sovereign. The sovereigns are of a separate design from the smaller pieces and were apparently struck only in the first six months of 1549 as they are known of the marks arrow and Y only. I have noted two pairs of dies of each mark. The design is an enlarged version of that used for the half-sovereigns of the first period, with the king seated facing on the throne, the only difference being that he now wears tunic and breeches instead of the royal robes.

The important pieces, and the ones which raise the interesting problems, are the smaller coins, and most particularly the half-sovereigns. The quarters and half-quarters repeat the designs and marks of the halves very closely. The obverses are of two main designs, firstly the uncrowned profile bust with the king's name and title on the reverse and secondly the crowned profile bust with the legends normally placed. The reverses are similar to those used for the shillings except that the shield of arms is crowned. The obverses immediately suggest a correspondence with the shillings, and there can be little doubt that the uncrowned-bust series was the first issue, corresponding to type 1 of the shillings, and the crowned profile the second issue following the amending order of 12 April 1549.

Before elaborating the argument for this sequence here is a list of these coins:

Half-sovereigns:

1. *Obv.* Uncrowned profile bust in armour, inner circle of small pellets.
Rev. Arms in oval garnished shield, crowned, between ER, legend: EDWARD. VI. &c. Lozenge stops.
(a) *Obv.* legend TIMOR DOMINI. FONS. VITE. Mm. Arrow. Lozenge stops.
(b) „ „ SCVTVM. FIDEI. PROTEGET. EVM. Mm. Arrow, 6, Y. Rose stops.
2. *Obv.* Crowned profile bust in armour, wire line inner circle, legend: EDWARD. VI. &c., Lozenge stops. *Rev.* As 1, SCVTVM. FIDEI. &c. Rose stops.
(a) Plain breast armour. Mm. Arrow, grapple (one die has rose stops and small letters) Y.
(b) Decorated breast armour. Mm. Swan/arrow, swan, martlet, Y.

Quarter-Sovereigns:

As halves of types 1b and 2a and of all mint-marks except martlet, usually on obverse only.

Half-quarters:

As the quarters except that none of mint-mark 6, and there is a mule arrow/swan. A few of the arrow and grapple coins are known with legends reversed.

The order and times of issue suggested for these coins is evidenced by the following facts. First, there are two dies of the uncrowned series of halves actually reproducing the legends as used on the first shillings. Second, the lettering and the finish on nearly all the coins with uncrowned bust corresponds exactly with that which was specially noticed on the type 1 shillings, in contrast with the much poorer work on those with the crowned profile. In fact, in the case of the later half-sovereigns the deterioration in the work is even more marked. Third, we have the mint-marks, the arrow and Y only, with an additional mark 6, on the uncrowned, and the arrow, grapple, swan, and martlet on the crowned bust coins, corresponding once more with the main marks appearing on the type 1 and 2 shillings. It should be mentioned that coins with the mark 6 are much

rarer than those with the arrow, and I think we have here the secondary mark used at the Tower for the type 1 coins, a mark not apparently needed for the equivalent shillings. The reason may well be the greater issue of gold of this first type, which is comparatively common, whereas the type 1 shillings are scarce if not rare.

As for the coins with the crowned profile, those with the plain breast armour or bust no. 1 were certainly the earlier issue, for here we have the arrow and Y again as on the type 2a shillings, with the secondary mark, grapple, which went with them. Finally, we have the halves with the decorated breast armour (Bust no. 2, with different crown and profile), corresponding exactly with the later shillings of type 2b and 2c, with the marks swan, martlet, and Y. Although there are no arrow or grapple dies known with the decorated armour, there are several swan/arrow mules, which would represent the earliest shillings of type 2b. The only thing missing here are the secondaries corresponding to the two minor marks on the shillings, the pheon, and pelt, but this is undoubtedly due to the falling off in gold production at this time, which is most markedly shown in the bullion figures. Although it will be argued later that these cannot be correct, they do indicate the trend which was certainly towards the drying-up of supplies to the mints in 1550.

The only mint other than the Tower and Southwark which struck gold in the second period was Durham House, and here, as with the silver, their types were, in the main, quite distinct from those of the other mints and followed a different pattern. Even when the bust used was similar the details were different and an entirely new legend was used. Here is a list of types. Only one die of each is known and I have indicated against them the specimens I have noted:

Die 1. *Obv.* Tall uncrowned bust in armour, SCVTVM. FIDEI . . . MDXLVIII
Rev. EDWARD. VI. &c. (BM 1).

Die 2. *Obv.* Normal uncrowned bust, LVCERNA. PEDIBVS. MEIS. VERBVM. EST
Rev. EDWARD. VI. &c. (BM 5, 6).

Die 3. *Obv.* Bust of no. 1 crowned, EDWARD VI. &c.
Rev. SCVTVM. FIDEI. &c. without date (BM 4, RCL 1873).

Mules 3/2 (BM 2, 3, Ryan 239).

I have placed them in the order shown for two reasons. Die 1 is obviously the first as it bears the date 1548. This coin is unique and could well be a pattern produced for submission to the king. Unlike the so-called shillings of Durham House with the same date, this is a genuine half-sovereign of normal size and weight. The date is a little unusual, as the mint was only opened in December of that year, but is quite feasible. For the second I have chosen, not the very similar die with a crown added, but the die with the small uncrowned bust copied, like the normal Tower coins, from the pattern mentioned, as this, like no. 1, has an inner circle of small pellets, as have the Tower half-sovereigns of type 1, whereas my die no. 3, the large uncrowned bust in armour, has the wireline inner circle of the later Tower coins. The curious halves with the name of Edward on both sides are obviously mules with the obverse of die 3 and reverse from that made for die 2.

The first problem presented by these half-sovereigns and smaller 22-ct. gold coins is the reason for the use of the two series: the uncrowned profile with the name and title on the reverse and later the crowned profile with the legends arranged normally. One would like to suggest some political motive for this state of affairs such as a deliberate attempt by the Protector to belittle the importance of the king in the government of the

country, an attempt which was reversed by Edward regaining his personal power and altering the coinage by his amending order of April 1549. History, however, is silent on such a point, and in fact the explanation may be much more prosaic. In the British Museum medal collection of this reign is a medalet or pattern in gold reproducing fairly closely the uncrowned profile bust and having the legend SCVTVM.FIDEI. on the obverse. The reverse is plain except for the words 1547/ANNO.DE/CIMO.ETAT/IS.EIVS, and it seems likely that this portrait with the legend was taken for the half-sovereigns in the same way as the crowned portrait and TIMOR legend was taken from the rose-marked pattern for the base shillings. In any case, the sovereigns and shillings of the first issue all show the royal figure properly crowned, and Edward himself referred to the uncrowned halves as his 'Edward royll'.

The second problem, already mentioned, concerns the bullion figures. According to Ethel Stokes and other authorities, Martin Bowes coined 1,287 lb. of gold during the period from 24 January 1549 to 30 June 1550, and a further 131 lb. between 1 July and 31 October 1550, or a total of 1,418 lb. Now I hope to show in articles not yet published,¹ that on the average a pair of dies for the gold coinages about this time produced 10,000 coins, though in the case of these half-sovereigns many look as though they have been struck with dies well beyond their normal tour of duty, so that 12,000 or 15,000 coins could have been produced from them. The point of this is that among the small number of sovereigns and halves I have examined, i.e. 11 and about 60 respectively, I have identified no less than 2 sovereign and 26 half-sovereign obverse dies from the Tower, omitting the Southwark dies whose output is not included in the returns, and on the conservative basis of only 10,000 coins each these dies alone would have dealt with the following weight of gold:

2 sovereign dies at 10,000 coins each	=	20,000 at 170 gr.	=	590 lb.
26 $\frac{1}{2}$ -sovereign dies at 10,000 coins each	=	260,000 at 86 gr.	=	3,875 lb.
		Total		4,465 lb.

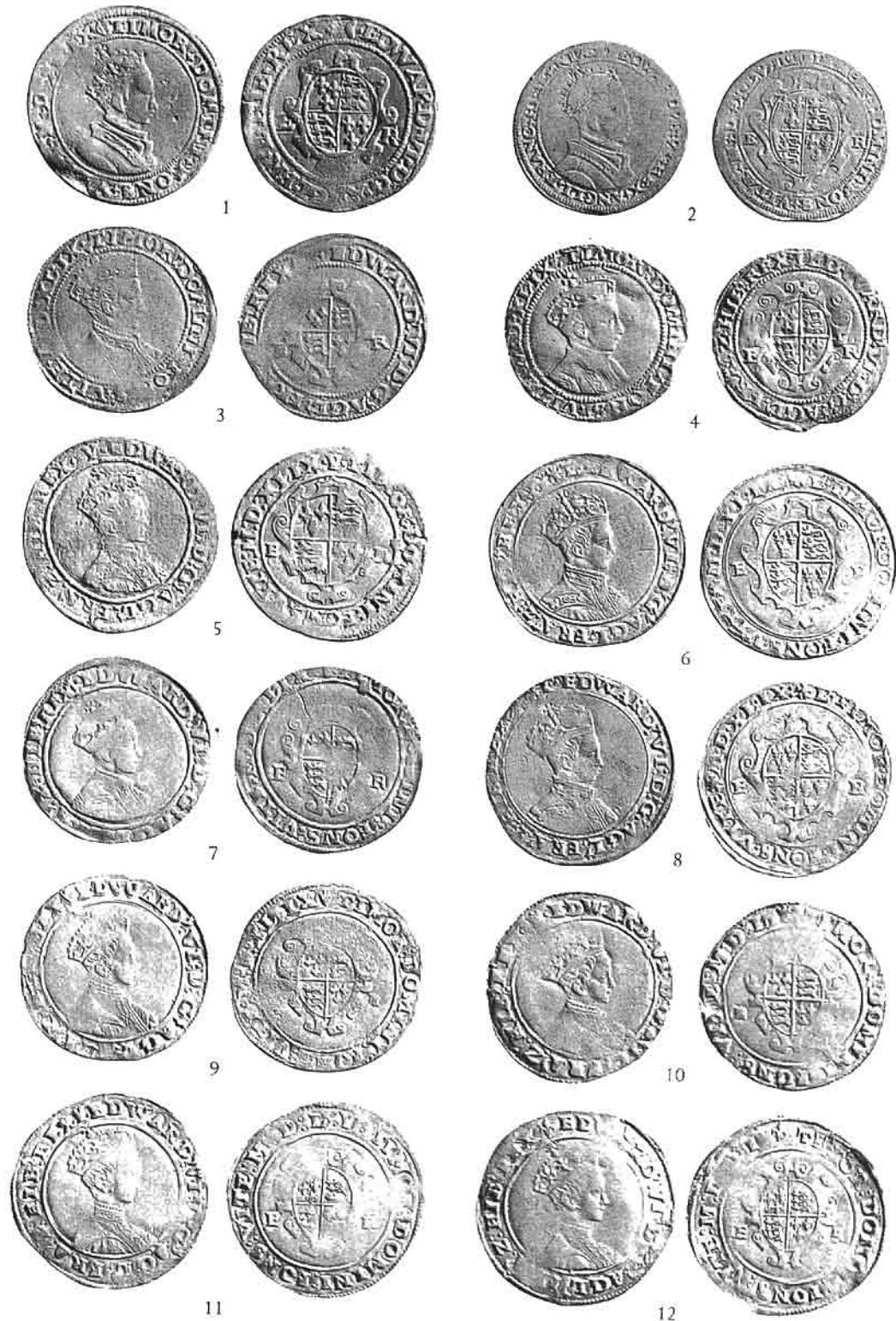
This takes no account either of the quarter- or half-quarter-sovereigns, nor of the many dies from which coins have not survived or have not been noted by me. I think therefore that a reasonable total for this coinage from the Tower would be not less than 7,000 lb. which reveals a very curious discrepancy indeed with the official figures of just over 1,400 lb.

PLATE XII

EDWARD VI BASE SHILLINGS

1. Durham House, bust no. 1. (BM).
2. Supposed Durham House shilling dated 1548. (BM).
3. Type 1, bust no. 2, erased G on reverse? (WJP).
4. " bust no. 3. (WJP).
5. Type 2a, bust no. 4, large reverse. (BM).
6. " shilling of Bristol. (BM).
7. Type 2b, mm. arrow b.s., bust no. 5. (WJP).
8. Type 2b/2c, shilling of Bristol. (WJP).
9. Type 2c, mm. phon b.s., bust no. 6. (BM).
10. " mm. pelt b.s., bust no. 6 (WJP).
11. Type 2d, mm. y b.s., bust no. 7. (WJP).
12. Type 3, mm. lis b.s., " (WJP).

¹ 'The Gold Coinage of Edward III' (NC), and 'The Fine Sovereigns of the Tudor Period' (this *Journal*).



A RE-EXAMINATION OF A GOLD MEDAL AWARDED
TO MAJOR ROGERS FOR VALOROUS SERVICES
IN 1690

OLIVER CRESSWELL



FIG. 1. (Actual size 1·3 inches.)

THE medal, the subject of this paper, which is illustrated above, was first described by Charles Winter in volume xx of this *Journal*, pp. 261-2. Mr. Winter suggests that the medal was granted to Major Rogers for his valorous services in an operation during the Battle of the Boyne when the Enniskilleners were surprised at a place called Plottin Castle, a mile and a half from the field, and routed by the Irish Horse, who in turn were ultimately compelled to give way and flee. He points out that Derry and Inniskilling were the only two places favouring the coming of William.

Winter's account, the only record in print of this medal, is both brief and ill considered. It will suffice at this point to indicate that he has confused the Inniskilling Horse with the Inniskilling Foot as the following account of the Battle of the Boyne from the History of the 5th Royal Irish Lancers will show.

At Platin House, halfway between Donore and Duleek, General Hamilton had drawn up a body of Irish cavalry in a field, into which a gap from a by-road was the only entrance. Eight troops of Enniskilleners under Wolseley came riding along this by-road in advance of the army, and two troops promptly entered the field. Wolseley ordered the men, by mistake, to form to the right, thus bringing the men with their backs to the enemy. Orders to wheel to the right were given, but the result was confusion. The Irish charged, and cutting down some fifty troopers, drove the others pell mell on to the crowded troops in the lane, who were quite incapable of resistance and were chased out of the lane.



FIG. 2.

As there has been a great increase in the number of medal collectors in recent years perhaps the following more detailed appraisal of this medal would be of interest. This medal is moreover of importance in so far as, if authentic, it is one of the earliest of British War Medals and possibly the earliest named medal. It could also be regarded as the ancestor of the engraved regimental medal of the period 1790–1815, a class medal highly prized both by private collectors and by regimental museums. It is important therefore before it is regarded as authentic and used as a touchstone to judge other medals that it be subjected to a thorough examination.

Obverse. Bust, laureated, to right. *Legend.* WILLIAM THE III: D (?) GR: REX: FID: DEF: 1690.

Going on the assumption that this medal is a product of the last decade of the seventeenth century we are faced with a number of inconsistencies. First, the method of manufacture is not a usual one for the period. The medals of the period up to about 1650 are either cast or made by hammering thin plates of metal into a mould. These methods were used to by-pass the difficulty of striking by the usual dies, as the art of making dies and the imperfect machinery employed did not allow the use of high relief. After the mid-seventeenth century the improvements in die manufacture enabled the more economical and speedy modern method to be applied and so the casting or hammering of thin plates into a mould, or repoussé as it is called, became obsolete. The workmanship of the medal in question is so poor that it is impossible to attribute it to any of the foremost medallists of the period and the medal must be a copy of the work of one of them. The bust approaches most nearly to that used by Johannes Smeltzing in 1690 alluding to the calming down of the Dutch discontents in Amsterdam (Fig. 2).

While the English legend points to a British origin for the medal there is another point which would indicate a continental prototype. This is the appearance in the legend of the title Defender of the Faith.

The title 'Defender of the Faith' was conferred on Henry VIII by Pope Leo X in 1521 and has been borne ever since by the sovereigns of England and the United Kingdom. However, while the title was borne, it did not make its appearance on the coinage until the time of George I and then in the abbreviation F.D., while the fuller form appeared in the time of George III. On official war medals it is strange to note that the title has only appeared twice; on the New Zealand war medal for service in the Maori Wars of 1845-7 and 1860-6 and more recently on the Defence Medal issued after the Second World War in 1945.

On historical medals the title appears much earlier and more regularly. Its first appearance was on a medal of Henry VIII, illustrated on Pl. 5 of *Medallic Illustrations*. It also appears on another medal of this reign commemorating the recognition of Henry as supreme head of the Church of England. The title was used by Edward VI on a medal marking his coronation and in the reign of Mary it appears more frequently. One of the most interesting appearances is on the coinage of Naples in 1554 showing that Philip II of Spain, the husband of Mary, also assumed the title. Perhaps because the title smacked of the Papacy, Elizabeth, who depended on Protestant support in her struggle with Spain, did not use it on her medals at all.

The Stuart sovereigns used the title on medals with some regularity and its first appearance is on a copper badge, cast and chased, apparently issued for services in some naval combat. Charles I used the title repeatedly on medals and it seems to be a favourite legend on the Royalist badges of the period of the Civil Wars. Charles II used it only twice on medals; on the medal commemorating his coronation in Scotland, and on a medal by Thomas Simon for the English coronation in 1661. Surprisingly enough James II, the most forthrightly Catholic of the Stuarts, did not use the title on medals at all. William III used it from the first landing in England but the medals bearing the title are the work of the Dutch artists Jan Smeltzing and Jan Luder, and of the German medallists George Hautsch and Martin Brunner. The only British artist to use this title is F. D. Winter who copied the medals of Jan Smeltzing. There is a medal illustrated on Pl. 86 of *Medallic Illustrations* commemorating the Battle of Aughrim simply signed D. S. which also uses the title but this is obviously a copy of a Dutch obverse.

The use therefore of the title Defender of the Faith on a medal of British manufacture of the last decade of the seventeenth century would seem improbable. However, if the period of manufacture is moved forward to the last decade of the next century, as many points listed later in this paper would indicate, the use of this title would seem more appropriate.

The lettering on both obverse and reverse would bear out the contention that here we have the work of a provincial goldsmith in that it is not skilful. This is partially shown by the archaic form of certain letters (notably the sloped serifs of E, G, and s.). On stylistic grounds the lettering can be assigned to a period hardly earlier than 1740 and probably not later than 1800. Taking into account the fact that the poor workmanship indicates the work of a provincial goldsmith, the lettering would seem to point to a date about the last decade of the eighteenth century.

If the medal is the work of a provincial silversmith or jeweller in the last decade of

the eighteenth century it may seem of little value to try to discover the silversmith responsible. However, a reference to Jackson's book, *English Goldsmiths and Their Marks* shows in the list of provincial silversmiths and jewellers registered in the Books of the Company of Silversmiths in Dublin in compliance with the Acts 23 and 24 of George III (Ireland) the name of Charles McCalvey of Enniskillen in 1784. While there can be no proof of this, McCalvey does meet the requirements of both time and place.

Reverse. Castle with flag blowing to the left. Foliage appears within the walls and is growing through the embrasures. *Legend, THE ENNISKILLENNERS.*

As with the obverse the first impression is of the poverty of the workmanship, even poorer indeed than that of the obverse. This may be readily explained by the probability that the modelling of the castle is original while the bust has been copied from another medal.

The first point of interest is that the castle depicted is meant to represent Enniskillen Castle and in all probability the Water Gate. A glance at the map will show that Enniskillen occupies a position of great strategical importance guarding the crossing point between Upper and Lower Lough Erne. Such a point would have been fortified at an early date and indeed in the early years of the sixteenth century a stronghold of the Maguires was erected here. In 1585 the land of Ireland was divided into Shires and Fermanagh was placed under a certain Sheriff Willis. The shire was, however, only in existence on paper and could not become a reality until the Maguire stronghold at Enniskillen was reduced. In 1594 the English troops under Captain John Dowdall stormed the castle by means of a trick reminiscent of the Trojan Horse. Sir William Cole, Kt., was granted 1,000 acres in 1611 and in the following year he received an additional 320 acres which included 80 acres in the town of Enniskillen. As was usual in such cases he was required to erect a castle to protect his holding and the old castle was repaired. It is from this reconstruction that the Water Gate dates though it may contain traces of the earlier Maguire stronghold. During the English Civil War, which in Ireland typically took on a religious aspect, Sir William Cole held the castle as a place of refuge for Protestants from the surrounding counties and raised a regiment in 1643, which he led with considerable success in many small actions now forgotten.

In the time of Sir William Cole's grandson, Sir Michael Cole, Kt., the town of Enniskillen achieved national importance as being, with Londonderry, the only town in Ireland to hold out for the Williamite cause. Gustavus Hamilton was elected Governor and under his lead the citizens raised no fewer than six regiments, three each of horse and foot, for the defence of the town. Such well-trained soldiers were welcome indeed and all six regiments were incorporated into the British Army, the first commissions being granted by Major-General Kirke. These six regiments were as follows:

1. Wolseley's Horse. This regiment was disbanded after the close of the campaigns in Ireland and a tradition recorded by John Smet, M.D., says that from the disbanded troopers was raised the regiment that later became the 8th Royal Irish Hussars, now amalgamated with the 4th Hussars as the Queen's Royal Irish Hussars. Tradition here probably contains more than an element of the truth as Henry Cunningham or Conyngham, the first Colonel of the 8th Hussars was a son of the Sir Albert Conyngham who raised the regiment Conyngham's Dragoons and had served as a Captain in Forbe's Regiment of Foot, later the 18th Foot, the Royal Irish Regiment.

2. Conyngham's Dragoons. This regiment was raised mostly from County Donegal men, many of whom were sons of Cromwell's veterans settled in the district. Sir Albert Conyngham lost his life at Colooney in 1691. Robert Echlin became the next Colonel with the Henry Cunningham mentioned above as Lieutenant-Colonel and the regiment began an uninterrupted career of over 200 years on the Army list. Today it has been amalgamated with the 5th Dragoon Guards as the 5th Royal Inniskilling Dragoon Guards. During its separate life as the 6th Inniskilling Dragoons it gained many battle honours, including Dettingen, Waterloo, and Balaklava.

3. Wynne's Dragoons. This regiment was taken on the strength of the British Army by a royal warrant on the 1st of January 1689 and for just over a century as the 5th Royal Irish Dragoons served as part of that army. During the 1798 Rebellion careless recruiting resulted in the regiment taking into its ranks some very unrepentant rebels. A mutiny was planned, nipped in the bud and the regiment disbanded. For sixty years the gap in the Army List of cavalry regiments remained unfilled until the formation of the 5th Royal Irish Lancers. This regiment was regarded as the successor of the disbanded regiment and assumed their Battle Honours of Blenheim, Ramillies, Oudenarde, and Malplaquet, to which they shortly added some of their own. In 1922 amalgamation with the 16th Lancers took place and today the regiment, armoured like all former cavalry units, is listed as the 16th/5th Lancers.

4. Tiffin's or Tiffan's Regiment of Foot. Zachariah Tiffin received his commission as Colonel of this portion of the Enniskillen forces in June 1689 and commanded the regiment in Ireland and the Low Countries until his death in Antigua in 1701. The regiment has had an uninterrupted career since then as the 27th Foot and the Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers, gathering honours in many parts of the world, of which we may mention only two: its distinguished conduct at Waterloo which evoked from the Duke of Wellington the tribute that they had saved the centre of his line at that battle and more recently the Freedom of the city of Nairobi in recognition of their part in subduing the Mau Mau rising.

5. Gustavus Hamilton's Regiment of Foot was commanded by the Governor of the city and drafted into other regiments in 1690.

6. Thomas Lloyd's Regiment of Foot. Lloyd was killed in action in 1689 and Lord George Hamilton succeeded him as Colonel and commanded the regiment until in 1692 it suffered a similar fate to Gustavus Hamilton's Regiment.

Leaving the regiments which have earned Enniskillen the distinction of being the only town in Great Britain to have two regiments named from it and returning to the castle we find it suffering the fate of most castles and being allowed to fall into disrepair when its usefulness had ceased. By 1749 the castle had fallen into ruins. The castle shown on this medal is also in a state of disrepair, note especially the foliage growing through the walls, and the medal can scarcely have been made much before 1749.

A circular letter from a Mr. Naylor, Inspector of Army Colours, in 1807 produced some correspondence from Lemuel Warren, Lieutenant-Colonel of the 27th Foot, which brings up the interesting point that at that time the castle on the colours was a fair representation of the actual castle of Enniskillen. The castle previously used had three turrets and is stated to resemble the neighbouring Crom Castle. While of interest, this

suggestion that the original castle on the badges, &c. of the regiment had in fact represented Crom Castle does not invalidate the argument in the previous paragraph as Crom Castle was destroyed by fire in 1764 and if the castle depicted on the medal under consideration is in fact Crom Castle then the medal must be dated after 1764. Thus the dating of 1690 is impossible, no matter which castle is in fact shown on the medal.

The other point of interest lies in the legend: 'The Enniskilleners'. Although the town of Enniskillen is of considerable antiquity, the name is much older than the town itself. To trace the origin of the town's name it is necessary to return to the realms of the folktale to one Balor the One Eye or Balor of the Evil Eye, a legendary giant who was king of the Fomorians. In the Book of Invasions, a twelfth-century work recording stories which had been handed down by word of mouth, we read that Balor was defeated by the Tuatha De Danann in a battle at Moytura in the present County Galway in the year of the world 3330. His wife was named Ceithle, pronounced Killie, and the place-name Enniskillen is derived from *Inis Ceithleann*, the Island of Ceithle. Enniskillen at that time was probably surrounded by marshes as well as lying between the Upper and Lower Lough Erne and such a spot would have been very well suited for a monastic type of settlement. Through the centuries the spelling of the place-name has varied, although until the early sixteenth century the spelling *Inis Scéillin* was commonly accepted. With the coming of the settlers with Sir William Cole the attempts of the newcomers to deal with the sound of the Gaelic name produced many variations. Trimble in his history of Enniskillen lists thirty-three such variations with dates but unfortunately this list loses some if not all of its value through the lack of stated sources. This list is given below.

1567	Inyskillen	1610	Inniskillen	1645	Iniskilline
1593	Inis-kellin		Enis Kelling	1646	Encikillin
	Iniskellin	1611	Iniskilline	1652	Iniskiln
1603	Inish-kellin	1612	Iniskillin		Iniskillin
	Inishkillin	1613	Eniskellen	1690	Enniskilling
	Inis-Sceillin		Inniskillen		Inniskilling
	Inis-Sgeillin	1620	Eniskiln		Inniskilling
	Eniskillin	1626	Eniskillen	1698	Iniskollin
1607	Enic Kelling	1630	Iniskillen		Enishkyllyn
1609	Eniskilline	1633	Inniskillyn		
	Enishkeelyn	1638	Enishkillen		
	Enishkillin		Eniskilln		

Of more value, perhaps, will be the following examples of the spelling of the town name with the source stated in each case.

1. There are a number of seventeenth-century tokens known for the town and as the spelling of the town name would be readily acceptable at that time they may be considered.

- (a) James Warnock of INESKILLIN, no date.
- (b) Abraham Clements of INISKILLEN, 1657.
- (c) William Cooper of INISKILLIN, no date.
- (d) David Rynd of ENISKILLIN, no date.
- (e) John Rynd of INNISKILLIN, no date.
- (f) James Reid of INESKILIN, 1663.

Unfortunately four of the six tokens are undated and only one of these four can be approximately dated. That is the token of James Warnock whose name appears on the Hearth Rolls for the years 1665 and 1666.

2. In *A Farther Impartial Account of the Actions of the Inniskilling-Men*, by Captain William M'Carmick, quoted below, in a Note by Sir Charles S. King, appears a reference to the will being proved of a John Deane, Gentleman, of INNISKILLEN, on 20 January 1678-9.

3. Both the volume listed above and *A True Relation of the Actions of the Inniskilling-Men* by the Rev. A. Hamilton, first printed in 1690 and 1691, use the notation 'Inniskilling-Men' for the forces raised for the defence of Enniskillen in 1688-9.

4. Both the books noted above refer to the town name as INNISKILLING in all cases where it is mentioned except for an occasional INISKILLING in Captain M'Carmick's book.

5. One interesting reference in M'Carmick's book is to a Mr. —, 'a servant of Sir Michael Coles, whose Town INNISKILLING is, dwelling at that time in Sir Michael's Castle, the only strength of the Town, refused us entrance into it, or to deliver it, or any of the Arms in it up to us, while Mr Henry Smith, and Mr Malcolme Cathcart, both Captains in the Army since, took it by surprize; so we got possession, and kept a strong Guard in it ever since.'

Among the officers listed in Dalton's Commission Registers in the Regiment of Foot commanded by Colonel Zachariah Tiffin in 1689 are a Captain Malcolm Cathcart, who died or left the regiment before 6 April 1692, and a Major William Smith who distinguished himself at the battle of Newtown Butler on August 1689. There is also a Captain Henry Smith who was promoted Major in 1692 and left the regiment in 1694. Probably the Smiths were brothers.

6. The oath administered to the Governor of the town in 1689 as recorded by Captain M'Carmick reads as follows: 'I Gustavus Hamilton do swear by God, and the Holy Contents of this Book, That I shall Truly, Sincerely, and Faithfully execute and discharge the Office and Place of Governour of INISKILLING', etc.

The oath of the officers also uses the spelling INISKILLING while that of 'the Private Souldiers' spells the town name INNISKILLING.

7. A letter from Robert Mason, Postmaster at Belfast to Sir Robert Southwell, Principal Secretary to King William III, dated 15 June 1690, giving an account of the post refers to 'ENISKILLING'. Besides the older spelling of Enniskillen we also note Belturbet. Loughbrickland, Armagh, and Lisburn varying from the modern spelling. Incidentally we may note that Captain M'Carmick uses the Gaelic Lisnagarvey (translated the Ford of the Gamblers) for Lisburn.

8. A disastrous fire in the town of Enniskillen in July 1705 led to collections being taken up in various parishes in England for the relief of those left destitute. The spelling used in the parish records of St. Pancras, Exeter, was INNISKILLING.

9. A list of losses sustained in this fire was made out by Sir Michael Cole and signed INNISKILLEN. We may note here that the use of this title actually predates its conferment on the family.

10. In Dalton's Commission Registers there are the following references:

- (a) Page 122: Colonel Zachariah Tiffin's INNISKILLING Regiment of Foot.
- (b) Page 375: a similar reference.
- (c) Page 168: 'List of Londonderry and INNISKILLING officers that are to receive three months' pay in England upon account to enable them to return into Ireland, 27 Feb. 1689-90.'

From the examples listed above it will be readily seen that the legend THE ENNISKILLENERS on a medal made in 1690 is a manifest impossibility.

The term 'Enniskilleners' is, however, found in the Army Lists of the early nineteenth century as the name of a Volunteer Infantry unit in County Fermanagh and in the 1804 List the officers are given as

Captain William Stewart, commission dated 31 October 1796.

Captain John Deering, commission dated 29 September 1803.

Lieutenants William Crooke, Robert Armstrong, Jason Hassard, and

Samuel Burrows whose commissions bear the same date as Captain John Deering.

From the dates of the commissions this unit was probably brought into existence during the upsurge of patriotism which followed the resumption of the Napoleonic Wars after the breathing space of the Peace of Amiens, while the Commanding Officer, Captain William Stewart, had probably served during the 1798 Rebellion.

Many of the Volunteer and Yeomanry units of this period were descendants of earlier Loyal Associations and many after the Napoleonic Wars became Orange Lodges. Some indeed were both Loyal Associations and Volunteer units at the same time.

In Bandon, where as the saying has it, even the pigs are Protestant, there were three Volunteer units, the Bandon Boyne, Bandon True Blue, and Bandon Union. In 1793 these units amalgamated to form the Bandon Loyal Legion, which like many Volunteer units was in the habit of parading on 1 July with lilies in their muskets. In 1809 an English colonel decided to do away with this practice and postponed the parade until the 6th of the month. However, the men paraded with the lilies displayed and rather foolishly the officer ordered the men to remove them. Each regiment in turn refused to obey the order and all three units were disbanded and formed themselves into Orange Lodges.

I could mention many other examples of Loyal Associations later becoming Volunteer units but perhaps the following two cases will suffice:

- (a) There is in existence a medal of the Limerick Union dated 1776 with the reverse legend, 'Amicitia Juncta'. This Loyal Association became the Loyal Limerick Volunteers in 1778
- (b) There are medals of the following Loyal Associations in Cork: Cork True Blues 1745 and undated; Cork Boyne 1780 and undated

while among the Volunteer units in Cork there are to be found medals to the Cork Boyne Volunteers for the best shot in 1777. An even more striking example of the connexion between Loyal Associations and Volunteer units is to be found in two medals in my collection. The first is a Loyal Association medal with on the obverse a crown and the date 1690, while the reverse bears the simple inscription '5th Committee Man'. The second medal is a Volunteer medal of the Royal Cork Volunteers with on the obverse

a crown, '1690, King and Constitution'. The reverse shows a harp and the legend 'L. C. V. Oliver Boyd. Best shot 1797'. If the two medals are placed side by side it is at once apparent that they are from the same hand as not only are the engraved crowns very similar but the methods of suspension are identical.

There were in Enniskillen two Loyal Associations which were formed in the early years of the eighteenth century by survivors of the defence of that town. These were the Boyne Men and the Knights of the Most Glorious Order of the Boyne, both apparently branches of the Royal Boyne Society of Enniskillen. No medals or distinguishing badges of either of these associations are in existence and later in this paper I would suggest that the medal under consideration is indeed such a badge.

Edge. Winter's reading: TO MAJOR A(RP) (?) ROGERS FOR VALOROUS SERVICES 1690.

Major Mahon has kindly furnished me with an exact reading of the edge:

To Major A. P. Rojers for Valorous Services 1690.

Ignoring for the moment the differing readings of the edge we are faced with two points of interest, (a) who Major Rogers or Rojers was and (b) what the 'Valorous Services' in 1690 were. Starting with the second point the services would either have taken place at the defence of Enniskillen or at the Battle of the Boyne. Most have ignored the first possibility but this is quickly disposed of when we find no reference whatever to a Major Rogers in either Hamilton or M'Carmick. Had such an officer so distinguished himself in the defence of the town as to have been awarded a special gold medal then his name would surely have been mentioned. This point evokes the most puzzling point about the medal and that is who the donor was. Had the services been performed during the defence of Enniskillen then surely the donor would have been either Gustavus Hamilton, the Governor, or else the citizens, and in either case we would have expected to find the donor's name somewhere on the medal. If the medal was the reward of services at the Battle of the Boyne then the donor would have been King William in person and again this is not mentioned on the medal. In this connexion it may be appropriate to mention a medal recorded by Tancred—a gold oval medal with one face struck, the other engraved.

Obv. Bust of William III. In Piam Memoriam Gulielmi Regis 3.

Rev. A crowned harp.

Tancred states that this medal along with a grant of land was given to a Mr. Jeremiah Scott for services at the Battle of the Boyne. This allocation is made impossible by the obverse legend, 'In Piam Memoriam', which clearly indicates a posthumous medal. This medal, as the only other award for services at the Battle of the Boyne, is worthy of a mention here. If the services were in fact rendered at the Battle of the Boyne, then what exactly were they?

The part played by the Inniskilling Foot Regiments at the Boyne was comparatively slight as the only detail recorded in *The Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers*, December 1688 to July 1914, is that they were stationed in the centre under the Duke of Schomberg, whose wing was drawn up opposite Oldbridge and the main body of the Irish army. The Dutch Blue Guards commenced the action by marching down to the river with drums beating; when they came to the brink the drums ceased and the men plunged in ten

abreast, the Inniskilling Foot hard on the heels of the leading troops; a little to the left a column of Huguenot regiments entered the stream, and farther still to the left were the English infantry wading up to their armpits in water. In a few minutes the Boyne for a quarter of a mile was alive with muskets and green boughs, for so alike were the troops on both sides dressed, that the Williamites had placed boughs in their hats to distinguish them from the Jacobites, who wore pieces of paper to represent the white cockade. It was not until the attackers were in the middle of the stream that they became aware of the danger of the enterprise on which they were embarked. Up till then little more than half of the hostile army had been seen, now whole regiments of horse and foot seemed to start out of the ground, and a wild shout of defiance rose from the Meath shore. Just for one moment the issue of the battle hung in the balance, but, infused with the spirit of their indefatigable leaders, the British and their continental supporters pushed on, and soon the Jacobites, though in some instances fighting with great courage, gave way. There is, it may be noticed, no reference to any individual acts of courage or leadership such as would have merited the award of a special gold medal, nor indeed any great opportunity for the display of individual as opposed to corporate valour.

When the Inniskilling Foot were reviewed a week later they mustered 625 men, their average strength, so their losses at the Battle of the Boyne must have been negligible and their part in the actual fighting small.

Another Irish infantry unit in William's forces at this battle was Meath's Foot, later the 18th Royal Irish Regiment, and in their regimental history by Lieutenant-Colonel Gretton the only reference to the Battle of the Boyne is: 'As the XVIIth regiment played no important part in the engagement, if, indeed, it came under fire at all, it is only necessary to say that though some of James's troops fought with distinguished gallantry in this battle, others did not show the fine qualities they exhibited later at Limerick and Aughrim.'

We are left wondering why the Irish Infantry regiments with William took such a small part in the battle and there seem to be two explanations (*a*) that William did not trust them, or (*b*) that they had suffered severely from their having spent the winter billeted in the countryside of Ulster. The first explanation may be true of the XVIIth Foot as their Colonel, Lord Forbes, had resigned his commission rather than fight against James, to whom he had sworn allegiance. Such an explanation could not, however, apply to the men from Enniskillen. Should William be unsuccessful at the Boyne they could look for nothing better than a charge of treason for their part in defying James in 1688 and 1689. Such men would surely fight with the courage given by despair if they had not been animated by their successes in the past. The second explanation that they had suffered so severely from their privations in the winter as to be unfit for service falls through as Schomberg's report on the troops under his command on 23 October 1689 states, 'Meath's is the best regiment of all the army, both as regards clothing and good order, and the officers generally good. The soldiers being all of this province, the campaign is not so hard on them as on others.' The men of Enniskillen were also accustomed to the climate and so suffered little from the winter and their strength a week after the Battle of the Boyne being so high also points to there being little sickness among them. Since neither explanation is satisfactory it can only be supposed that the small loss suffered by the Irish infantry units in William's army was due to a fortunate chance which placed them in what today would be called 'a quiet section of the line'.

Turning to the question of an officer named A. P. ROJERS or A RP ROGERS let us consider any references either to the Inniskilling Foot or to officers with the surname Rogers about the period of 1690. We need not consider the regiment of infantry commanded by Gustavus Hamilton as this was drafted into other regiments in 1690.

Dalton gives the following list of officers in Lord George Hamilton's Regiment of Inniskilling Foot in 1691:

Colonel Lord Geo. Hamilton.

Lieut. Colonel Danl. Hodson.

Major Jno. Ryder.

Captains Robt. Clarke, Morgan Hart, Geo. Hart, Tho. Dixie, Jonathan Wallace, Patt. Vance, Wm. Parsons, Tho. Whyte, Andrew Hamilton, Edwd. Johnston.

Captain Lieutenant Andrew Watson.

Lieutenants Michael Cole, Robt. Sterling, Edwd. Ellis, Robt. Moore, And. Makilwain, Jas. Matthews, Will. Harrett, John Frier, Ant. Ellis, Edwd Dixie, Fras. Ellis, Chas. King, Jas. Johnston.

Ensigns Geo. Hamilton, Alex. Gredane, Jas. Campbell, Jno. Boyd, Hercules Ellis, Jno. Thompson Robt. Caldwell, Jas. Kiming.

Chaplain Ja. Golden. Adjutant Jas. Barton.

Quartermaster Edwd. Gubbins. Chirurgeon. Ric. Taylor.

There is no mention of Rogers or Rojers in this regiment but we may note in passing the strong family connexions of these Inniskilling regiments, with four brothers, Edward, Hercules, Francis, and Anthony serving in the one regiment, a characteristic of Irish regiments through the years. All four officers had signed an address from the town of Enniskillen to William III.

Dalton gives the following list of officers in Colonel Zachariah Tiffin's Inniskilling Regiment of Foot in 1689.

Colonel Zachariah Tiffin.

Lieutenant Colonel Fras. Gore.

Major Wm. Smith (mentioned earlier at Newtown Butler).

Captains Jno. Ffolliott, Malcolm Cathcart, Tho. Armstrong (white), — Armstrong (black), — Davenport, David Rynd, Oliver Jackson, Jno. Johnston, Henry Smith, Jno. Corry.

Again there is no mention of a Major Rogers but, as a point of interest, out of the thirteen officers listed above eight are mentioned by M'Carmick.

Dalton gives the following list of Londonderry and Inniskilling officers 'that are to receive three months' pay in England, upon account, to enable them to return to Ireland, 27th Feb. 1689/90'.

Colonels Hugh Hamill, Ric. Crofton, Adam Murray.

Lieutenant Colonel Tho. Blair.

Captains Stephen Godfrey, Alex. Sanderson, Robt. ROGERS., Ric. Aplin, Alex. Watson, Fras. King, Henry Griffin, Saml. Murray.

Lieutenants Toby Mulloy, Mat. Clerk, Tho. Keys, Robt. Lowder, Tho. Baker, Michael Read, — Boyer, Ant. McCulloch.

Ensigns Oliver Aplin, John Brush.

Quartermasters Wm. Anderson and Alex. Herron.

Storekeeper Edwd. Curling. Quarter Gunner Ric. Scimin.

The Captain Robert Rogers mentioned in the above list was one of three brothers Thomas, William, and Robert who had served during the siege of Londonderry.

Thomas and William were among the signatories of the Londonderry Corporation of 1690. Robert Rogers was an officer in Colonel Hugh Hamill's Regiment of Foot during the siege of Londonderry and after the relief went to London to attempt to obtain arrears of pay due to the survivors of the siege. While there he was given £45, three months' pay, to enable him to return to the Duke of Schomberg's camp in Ireland. There is no record of his presence at the Battle of the Boyne and he spent the rest of his life, unsuccessfully, in trying to extract money from the War Office of those days, and after his death his brothers undertook the task, again unsuccessfully.

The next reference to an officer named Rogers occurs in 1691 when a Samuel Rogers was appointed Lieutenant to Captain Rogers in Colonel Edward Villier's Regiment of Horse. As this regiment, later I believe the 2nd Dragoon Guards, had no connexion with Enniskillen it may be ignored.

Also in 1691, on the 3 October, Abr. Rogers was appointed Captain vice Jno. Symonds in Viscount Castleton's Regiment of Foot. This Rogers must have served in Tiffin's Regiment of Foot as the list of officers of Colonel Zachariah Tiffin's Regiment of Foot in Flanders in 1694 contains the name Jno. Symonds as Captain Lieutenant. The future career of Rogers is readily traced as in 1694 he was Adjutant of Colonel Luke Lillington's Regiment of Foot, designed for Jamaica, and an officer of this name was appointed 1st Lieutenant of Grenadiers to Viscount Charlemont's Regiment of Foot on 28 June 1701. There is no further trace in the Army Lists.

If this then be the officer named Rogers on the medal under consideration we are left with the problem of (I) his antecedents and (II) how he could have been a Major in 1690 if the following year he exchanged with a Captain in another regiment. As the second point will take little time to explain we will consider it first. There are two possibilities (a) that Rogers succeeded to the rank of Major during the battle due to casualties among senior officers. This can be immediately discounted by the fact that Tiffin's Regiment of Foot sustained negligible casualties and certainly if a Major, one of the most senior officers of the regiment, had been either killed or wounded it would have been thought worthy of record. The second possibility (b) is that perhaps to avoid service abroad Rogers may have exchanged into a regiment on a home station. Some officers to avoid service in an unhealthy climate would be quite willing to surrender some of their seniority by exchanging with a more junior officer. The station above all others to be avoided was the West Indies, where disease could and did wipe out complete regiments. The 18th Foot served in the West Indies from 1805 to 1817 and buried there 52 officers and 1,777 other ranks, without having seen any active service at all. This explanation of an exchange to avoid foreign service falls through when it is seen from the above extracts that this Rogers was willing to proceed to Jamaica, and surely there was a better chance of survival on the battlefields of Flanders than in the fever hospitals of Kingston.

Returning to the antecedents of this officer we are faced with a blank. There is no reference to him in either Hamilton's or M'Carmick's account of the defence of Enniskillen, nor does his name appear either among those whose property was attainted by James for rebellion or among those who signed an address of loyalty to William III from the citizens of Enniskillen. These are important points as, had he been a man of property at all, he would have appeared in the first and, without property, he would scarcely have received an officer's commission. The possibility that religious conviction prevented his signing the address of loyalty is made more likely by the fact that Wood-Martin states

that the Protestants of County Sligo were mostly descended from veterans of one of Cromwell's cavalry regiments, disbanded in 1653 in County Sligo. Among the names of the families descended from these veterans appears that of Rogers. However, this name does not occur among the officers of a regiment of Protestants raised in County Sligo in January 1688-9 and preferment in the army would hardly have come the way of an officer who for any reason whatever did not sign an address of loyalty to William III.

The non-appearance of Rogers's name in the records of the period may only be significant of his little importance in the events then taking place but it is much more difficult to explain his absence from what we may call tradition. The events of 1690 were of prime importance to the Protestant community in Northern Ireland and the victory at the Boyne is still commemorated each year by processions. Indeed so deeply implanted was the importance of this battle that the Ulster Division of the First World War saw in the postponement of the attack on the Somme to the 1 July 1916 (the date of the Battle of the Boyne before the reformation of the calendar in 1752) a happy omen and advanced in the face of machine-gun fire with orange sashes and calling the watchword of 'No Surrender', reminiscent of the Siege of Londonderry. Yet the gallantry of an officer, which was such that a gold medal was awarded him, is forgotten when even the name of the humble private who held William's horse when he became embogged at the passage of the river is remembered. Private David McKinley of Conyngham's Dragoons performed this service and is still remembered in the name of an Orange Lodge Number 1539, County Fermanagh, the McKinley Orange Lodge. This absence of Rogers's name and deed from tradition is surely more important than his absence from the written records of the period.

It can thus be seen that there could not have been an officer, named Rogers, present at the Battle of the Boyne, who so distinguished himself as to receive a gold medal commemorating his exploits.

SUMMARY

There are a number of points which indicate that the medal was made by a provincial goldsmith about the year 1790. The use of the repoussé technique and the poor workmanship both indicate a provincial origin while the style of the lettering, the disrepair of the castle shown and the spelling of Enniskillen all indicate a period of about 1790. The error, if it is so, in the rank given on the rim is of interest also and if we ignore the rim reading the only possible description of the medal is that it is the badge of some pre-Orange, Loyal Association, in Enniskillen, probably manufactured by McCalvey about 1790. I believe that the rim reading was added to increase the saleability of the medal at some later date. The use of the phrase 'Valorous Services' would seem to savour of the legend 'For Valour' which appears on the Victoria Cross and possibly the rim reading was added in the second half of the last century. It is a pity that the medal has been altered as the badge of one of the Loyal Associations in Enniskillen in the 1790's would have great interest and value of its own.

REFERENCES

I must express my thanks to those who have assisted me in the preparation of this paper. Mr. R. H. M. Dolley, of the British Museum, had already come to the same conclusion as myself with regard to this medal and the writing of this paper was the result

of a conversation last summer. Since then any information I required was most readily made available. I must also thank J. M. Mosley, the librarian of the Saint Bride Printing Library, Mr. N. J. Connor, the Town Clerk of Enniskillen, and Miss Gay van der Meer of the Royal Coin Cabinet in the Hague, Holland.

I have made use of the following books:

The Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers from December 1688 to July 1914 (1934).

Historical Record of 8th King's Royal Irish Hussars from its being raised to 1803, by J. F. Smet, M.D. (1874).

The Inniskilling Dragoons, by Major E. S. Jackson (1909).

A History of the Fifth (Royal Irish) Lancers, by W. T. Willcox (1908).

Fighters of the Derry, by W. R. Young (1932).

Sligo and the Enniskilleners, by W. G. Wood-Martin (1882).

True Relation of the Actions of the Inniskilling-Men, by the Rev. A. Hamilton (1691).

A Farther Impartial Account of the Actions of the Inniskilling-Men, by Captain William M'Carmick (1691).

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THE CASTLE COMER COLLIERY TOKEN

S. A. H. WHETMORE

THE Spanish dollar or piece of eight reales countermarked for use in trading by the Castle Comer Colliery, County Kilkenny, is the only silver crown-sized piece issued in Ireland by a private commercial undertaking. The coin was mentioned by Davis¹ and by Boyne,² both of whom gave not quite accurate quotations from a paper by Aquilla Smith, M.D., M.R.I.A., published in 1855, which included a description of the coin and the reason for the issue.

Dr. Smith's statement reads³

s. d.

'18 Oby payable at Castle Comer Colliery 5 5.

In an oval countermark three fourths of an inch in length, stamped on the obverse of a Spanish dollar of Charles III date 1798 weight 17 dwts 7 grains.⁴

'I am indebted to Mr. J. G. Robertson of Kilkenny for the following account of this countermarked dollar—"A friend of mine, who has often seen the coin, says that about forty years ago Anne, Countess of Ormonde, not wishing to lose by the depreciated value of Spanish dollars of which she had at that time a large number, caused all she had to be stamped with the legend 'Castle Comer Colliery, 5 shillings and five pence'. Coals to that amount being given for them at the pits, Kilkenny traders used to take them in exchange for their commodities knowing that they could give them afterwards to colliers in payment for coals".'

In this paper Mr. Robertson's spelling 'Ormonde' is used throughout, such spelling having been almost invariably used since the elevation of the twelfth Earl of Ormonde to Marquess in 1642.⁵

The countermark, while not common, is known on Spanish dollars of various dates in addition to 1798 found on Dr. Smith's coin. The specimen once in the writer's collection and illustrated on Pl. V. 19, is dated 1789. Captain Paget, whose collection was sold in 1944, had four specimens dated respectively 1774, 1791, 1801, and 1808. Bliss (1916) and Thelluson (1931) each had a coin dated 1801 which may have been the same coin and also the coin in the Paget collection. Thelluson had a second specimen dated 1804 which came from the Murdoch collection which may have been the coin which appeared in the Lingford sale (1950). It should also be noted that Cokayne (1946) had a dollar dated 1799 and Napier (1956) another dated 1796.

Mr. Robertson's statements suggest that the token was issued about 1815, a year within the period in which similar tokens were issued in Great Britain. Mr. Robertson was born in Scotland in 1816 and trained as an architect. He worked in Kilkenny with

¹ W. J. Davis, *Nineteenth Century Token Coinage*, 1904.

² W. Boyne, *Silver Tokens of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1866.

³ Aquilla Smith, 'Catalogue of Silver Tokens issued in Ireland', *Proceedings and Transactions of the Kilkenny and South-eastern Archaeological Society*,

4 July 1855.

⁴ This is the specimen now in the National Museum of Ireland (cf. R. A. S. Macalister 'A Catalogue of the Irish Traders' Tokens in the Collection of the Royal Irish Academy' in *PRIA* xl, c. 2 (Dublin, 1931), p. 166, no. 936).

⁵ *Complete Peerage*.

a relative, William Robertson, and was the architect to the dioceses of Ossory and Leighlin until 1869. He founded a museum in Kilkenny of which he was the Curator and he contributed several papers to the Archaeological Society on numismatic subjects. He moved to Dublin in 1888 and died there in 1900.¹

The issuer of the token can easily be identified. In 1815 the Earl of Ormonde was Walter Butler, the eighteenth of his line, who succeeded to the title in December 1795 and married in March 1805, Anna Maria Catherine Price-Clarke, an English lady, who died in December 1817; her husband surviving her until August 1820. She does not fit the title of Dowager Countess used by Mr. Robertson and was not, therefore, the Anne of the token. The seventeenth Earl of Ormonde was John Butler who married, in February 1769, Susan Frances Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Earl Wandesford, who survived her husband, her son, and her daughter-in-law, dying in Dublin in April 1830.² She was the lady of the token and there is no difficulty about her name for there is authority for stating that she was known as Anne.³

Opinions of the character of the Dowager Countess differ. It has been stated that ‘. . . as lady of the castle [she] was careful to keep up at least her due importance. It is not impossible for women or men either to mistake pomposity for dignity. True pride is accompanied by an amiable condescension: cold unbending ceremony is the result of false pride and not of dignity. I thought (perhaps erroneously) that her ladyship made this mistake.’⁴

A few years before 1814 a new road was constructed from the Castle Comer collieries to Carlow, the cost of which was raised by public subscription to which Lady Ormonde contributed £1,000. A contemporary writer remarked

‘I am happy in having this opportunity of expressing my admiration of the liberal manner in which this lady at all times supports every project which may tend to the benefit of the country. To make her neighbours and tenants comfortable and happy and to improve the surrounding country by every means in her power, appear the noble and patriotic boundary of Lady Ormonde’s wishes and exertions.’⁵

Another writer records

‘1798 The town [Castlecomer] was attacked and partially burned by the Croppies, who, after a sharp skirmish known as the “Battle of Comer”, were put to flight by the regular army.

‘Mason in his Statistical Survey published in 1802 writes “Castlecomer has 211 houses: many of them good and slated: part of this town was burnt during the late rebellion and has been rebuilt in a handsome manner; the principal part of the town is one very broad street well built. A barrack for infantry has been begun above the town, estimated at about £4,000 and a new market house is about to be erected by Lady Ormonde.”’⁶

¹ Abstracted from an obituary notice in the *Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland Journal*, ser. 5, vol. x, 1900.

² *Complete Peerage*.

³ The *Complete Peerage* x, p. 164 footnote, states ‘*Dublin Mercury*, 14–16 February 1769; Burke’s *Peerage*. M’Call, *Family of Wandesford*, p. 103, says that she was known as Anne, her full name being

Frances Susannah Anne, and he dates the marriage 13 Feb.’

⁴ Sir Jonah Barrington, K.C., *Personal Sketches of His Own Times*, 1827, vol. i.

⁵ Richard Griffith, *Geological and Mining Report on the Leinster Coal District*, Dublin, 1814.

⁶ The Rev. William Carrigan, C.C., *The History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory*, vol. ii, 1905.

One further reference to expenditure in Castlecomer

‘Castlecomer. . . . Adjoining is the seat of the Countess Dowager of Ormonde which, with a great part of the town, was destroyed in the disturbance of 1798; it has however been rebuilt in a style of superior elegance. . . .’¹

There was a practice of ‘paring and burning’ used to bring waste land into cultivation which was forbidden by Act of Parliament, which imposed a fine of £10 per acre on those who used it. Some landlords prohibited the method entirely, others paid no attention to the act and some allowed the use of the method under rules of their own imposed on their tenants. One such was Lady Ormonde who allowed the practice but caused her tenants to enter into a bond to put 100 barrels of lime per acre in the second year, to take two crops and then to lay the land down with grass seeds.²

All these references to Lady Ormonde give the impression of a competent lady genuinely interested in using her position and means to restore and develop the district in which she lived and that Sir Jonah Barrington was right to admit that his estimate of her character might have been erroneous.

Turning now to the colliery a report, dated 1814, states

‘This [Castlecomer] colliery was commenced in the beginning of last century by Sir Christopher Wandesford and has continued at work almost uninterruptedly ever since.’³ Taking these words literally they mean that the colliery began between 1 January 1700–1 and 15 March 1706–7 when Sir Christopher Wandesford was created Baron Wandesford and Viscount Castlecomer but there is evidence of much earlier working. The Ormonde manuscripts include the following letter

Sir Christopher Wandesforde to John Welsh.

1664 September 3 Dublin—Upon consideration of your note sent unto me by Mr. Wallis, I do hereby condescend and agree that there be yearly delivered four hundred barrels of earth coals at the coal pits of Idough, in the County of Kilkenny, unto and for the use of my most honoured and dear good friend his Grace the Duke of Ormonde, and his good lady his Duchess, during both their lives, provided that the said coals be had and taken away in such convenient manner as may not hinder the carriage of the country; and that payment is made for the digging of the said coals per barrel as the rest are paid for, to begin the first of May next.

And that in regard the year is far spent now, there be delivered two hundred barrels for this present year. To which end and purpose I have given order for the delivery of the same accordingly.

And withal I do most humbly submit myself unto what his Grace shall further declare in and concerning the passages that passed between his Grace and my father and shall in all parts perform the same: for truly I am a mere stranger thereunto, and further desire to be expressed. Sir, if these be answerable to your expectation in the behalf of my Lord, I desire you would signify it by your consent under your hand; if not, I desire you to restore this back again to Mr. Wallis.⁴

This letter was addressed ‘For John Welsh, Esq., Agent for his Grace, James, Duke of Ormonde.’ The territory of Idough was erected to the Lordship of Castlecomer by Charles I.

Sir Christopher’s letter was a formal offer to supply coals on the terms stated and, if Mr. Welsh accepted, a contract was concluded. It may be safely assumed that the matter

¹ Pigot’s *New Commercial Directory of Ireland*, 1824.

² Edward Wakefield, *An Account of Ireland Statistical and Political*, vol. i, 1812.

³ Richard Griffith *supra*.

⁴ *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Marquess of Ormonde*, N.S., vol. iii. Historical Manuscripts Commission 1904.

mentioned in the final paragraph also related to coals since it is unlikely that anything irrelevant would have been included in such a document.

When Thomas Wentworth, later Earl of Strafford, sailed for Ireland in July 1633 to assume office as Lord Deputy, he took with him two friends to be his most trusted advisers, one of whom was Mr. Christopher Wandesford of Kirklington, Yorkshire. Mr. Wandesford became Master of the Rolls in 1637 and was appointed Lord Deputy in March 1640 after Strafford had returned to England but he died in December in the same year.¹ The writer of the latter was his son who had been created a baronet in 1662.

The *Dictionary of National Biography*, in an article on Christopher Wandesford gives an account of his acquisition of the Castlecomer region

In 1635 Wandesford had purchased from the Earl of Kildare the lands of Sigginstown, near Naas, but resold the estate to Strafford, who intended to build a royal residence there. Instead of it Wandesford acquired (25 July 1637) Castlecomer and the territory of Edough or Idough in the county of Kilkenny. The title to this district had been found to be in the Crown by inquisition taken at Kilkenny on 11 May 1635 and the sept of the Brennans who held it declared to have no legal claim to their lands. Strafford expelled them by force and Wandesford rebuilt the castle, restored the park and settled a number of English families on the estate. Wandesford's conscience does not seem to have been quite easy and by his will made on 2 October 1640 he ordered his executors to pay the [Brennans] a sum amounting to the value of a 21 years lease of the lands they held in 1635 . . . the legacy was never paid owing to the rebellion . . . in 1695 Wandesford's grandson the first Lord Castlecomer obtained a decree extinguishing the claim of the Brennans to it, they having been attainted as rebels.

An earlier account gives a somewhat different impression.

The sept of the Brennans, a branch of the Fitzpatricks and who was said to have taken their name from or have given a name to the district called *hy Breoghan* were the former proprietors of that part of the territory of Idough, erected by Charles I to the Lordship of Castlecomer and comprising about 13,400 acres. During the administration of Lord Strafford in Ireland Sir Christopher Wandesford purchased this territory from the Brennans and quartering a few soldiers there to protect the possession was one of the facts alleged in the articles of impeachment against that nobleman. The last representative of that branch of the Brennans, who were the ancient proprietors died in a reduced condition about 6 or 7 years ago and what is remarkable, he constituted, by his will, the present Countess of Ormonde as his sole heir.²

The legatee was the lady of the token.

The earliest reference to the subject which I have found is dated 1652

Already one Coal mine hath bin found in Ireland, a few years since, by meer hazard and without having been sought for. The mine is in the Province of Leinster, in the County of Carlow, seven miles from Idof, in the same hill where the Iron Mine was of Mr. Christopher Wandsworth. [sic] of whom hath been spoken above. In that Iron-mine, after that by degrees they were gone deeper at last in lieu of Oer they met with Sea-coal, so as ever since all people dwelling in those parts have used it for their firing finding it very cheap; for the load of an Irish car drawn by one garron,³ did stand them, besides the charges for bringing it in 9 pence only 3 pence for the digger and 6 pence for the owner.⁴

The earlier reference to Mr. Wandesforde relates to an ironworks stated to have been owned by him in Idough in County Carlow. In these passages there is evidence of carelessness and, in the matter of the ironworks, an admission that the reader could not be given any particulars since, so far, none had been received.

¹ Miss C. V. Wedgwood, *Strafford*.

³ A small Irish horse.

² William Tighe, *Statistical Observations relating to the County of Kilkenny 1800-1*, 1802.

⁴ Gerard Boate, *Ireland's Natural History*, 1652.

A map in the 'Down' survey of Ireland (1655-6)¹ shows the 'Territory of Edough and Castlecomber Parish' in County Kilkenny, within one boundary marked 'Protestant Land'. The area within the boundary is of the same order of magnitude as that of the 'Lordship of Castlecomer' already mentioned. Only two features are shown, an indication of 'Castle Comber' and of habitation thereby and a small enclosed area about 3½ miles north by east of the Castle marked 'clay moyle-head'. Griffith stated that in the Leinster coal district 'slate clay is usually found in the roof of the coal and fire clay the substratum in every district but one'. The remark on his map may be an indication of mining for coal. Boate is alleged to have written that the mine was discovered in 1626 but the reference has not been traced. It is safe to conclude, however, that coal was exploited in the neighbourhood of Castlecomer much earlier than has hitherto been supposed.

Tighe reported that the fumes from burning the coal were somewhat obnoxious, being particularly injurious and offensive to asthmatic persons unless they had been habituated early when, in some cases, the seventeenth Earl of Ormonde, for example, they preferred the coal. Dr. Ryan of Kilkenny recommended cold bathing as the best method of counteracting the effects of the fumes. The same authority stated that Lord Wandesford received an income of £6,000-7,000 a year but Lady Ormonde was not so successful and a few years before 1800 she advertised that the mines were available to be leased but no arrangement resulted. In the three years ended 31 March 1800, when the price of coal was 6s. 3d. per barrel (ten hundredweights) and a collier's pay 2s. per barrel, her average annual profit was £2,760. About this time an experienced coal-mines manager was brought from England but Tighe remarked 'may give much information but firmness and perseverance as well as knowledge will be required to counter private interest, ignorance and prejudice'. On 1 April 1800 the price of coal was raised to 8s. 8d. per barrel and in the four months April-August the profits were £1,183, a figure indicating that the income for the whole year would not reach £3,000, since June and July, for some reason, were the best months in the year for selling coal.

With her interests in coal and land Lady Ormonde must have needed substantial sums in metallic money, the supply of which was so lamentably short in Ireland at this time. Edward Wakefield gave evidence in 1810 to a Select Committee of the House of Commons based on his experience during a recent tour of Ireland, when he found the monetary situation most unsatisfactory.² He mentioned the Bank of Ireland tokens for 6s., overstruck on Spanish dollars, and the import by individuals, mainly from Liverpool of unstamped dollars, which were used in transactions according to their weight and the price of silver which depended on Government buying for the Army going abroad or the demand when ships of the East India Company were sailing. During his visit the dollars passed for 4s. 6d. to 4s. 11d. It is probable that, in this way, Lady Ormonde obtained her 'large number' of dollars; the reason for their countermarking is known, protection from a fall in the price of silver; to reach the possible source of the suggestion to countermark requires following a circuitous route.

In 1327 James le Botiller or Butler received a grant or a confirmation of the right to the prisage of wines imported at Irish ports as appurtenant to his hereditary office as Butler.³

¹ 'Down' Survey of Ireland, Sheet 93 reproduced by the Ordnance Survey Office, Southampton 1908.

² *Report and Minutes of Evidence from the Select*

Committee on the High Price of Gold Bullion, 1810.

³ *Complete Perrage.*

1328 he was created the first Earl of Ormonde and his rights of prisage and butlerage passed down the centuries to the eighteenth earl. In 1806 the Government decided to extinguish these rights and passed an Act¹ authorizing the Irish Treasury to contract to secure them and to charge the compensation to the Irish Consolidated Fund. Negotiations took place with the earl and his trustees and an agreed contract was presented to the House of Commons on 22 May 1810 and implemented by an Act which received the Royal Assent on 20 June 1810.² The agreed compensation was £216,000, the necessary money resolution was passed on 28 May 1810 and the confirmery Act also received the Royal Assent on 20 June 1810.³ The transaction was financed by Irish Treasury Bills and there is no reason for thinking that Lady Ormonde obtained any advantage.

The very detailed implementing Act shows that, when the negotiations started the Earl of Ormonde's Trustees were the Earl of Enniskillen and the Rt. Hon. Maurice Fitzgerald. In 1808 they wished to resign and new trustees were appointed by Act of Parliament⁴ their names being William Morland and John Hosier of Pall Mall, Charles Butler, barrister-at-law of Lincoln's Inn, and Job Hart Price-Clarke of Montagu Street all in the County of Middlesex. William Morland was probably a partner in Morland, Ransom & Co., 56 Pall Mall, London, agents of the Glasgow Bank founded by Lord Kinnaird, one of Morland's partners, and others in 1809. The bank issued countermarked Spanish dollars, with which Morland must have been acquainted but it cannot be stated with certainty that he ever met Lady Ormonde.

The trustee Job Hart Price-Clarke was the father of the girl who married Walter Butler the eighteenth Earl of Ormonde and there is evidence in the Ormonde papers in the National Library of Ireland that he was in Ireland at least in 1806–10.⁵ Sir Joseph Barrington,⁶ who claimed to be an intimate friend, did not give the earl a very good character and the Ormonde papers indicate financial difficulties from time to time. Price-Clarke seems to have acted as the earl's agent in Dublin and was interested in the prisage negotiations, the earl's claim to which was disputed by the authorities in certain Irish ports; those in Waterford petitioned Parliament whilst a right to have their claim examined by the court was reserved, in the implementing Act, for the authorities in Cork, where Price-Clarke resided for a time. From his family relationship and interest in family matters over a considerable time it may be concluded that he would have known Lady Ormonde very well.

Mr. Price-Clarke's country seat was Sutton Hall in the parish of Sutton-cum-Duckmanton in Derbyshire, the house having been built by the Earl of Scarsdale who died in 1736. His estates had to be sold to pay his debts, which included the cost of the Hall and they were purchased by Godfrey Clarke of Somersall.⁷ The estates passed to Godfrey Bagnall Clarke, who died in 1780, his sister and heiress married Job Hart Price who took the name of Clarke. Lord Ormonde, after his marriage to Anne Price-Clarke occasionally stayed at the Hall.⁸

The lord of the manor of Sutton-cum-Duckmanton was Richard Arkwright of

¹ 46 Geo. III, c. 94.

² 50 Geo. III, c. 101.

³ 50 Geo. III, c. 98.

⁴ 48 Geo. III, c. 93.

⁵ The documents in the National Library were examined for me by Mrs. Ellish Ellis of Dundrum,

County Dublin, to whom I am greatly indebted.

⁶ *Personal Sketches of His Own Times*.

⁷ *Complete Peerage*.

⁸ Samuel Bagshaw, *History, Gazetteer and Directory of Derbyshire*, 1846.

Willesley Castle who was also lord of the manor of Cromford.¹ He was the wealthy son of Sir Richard Arkwright, of cotton-spinning-machinery fame, and the issuer of the well-known tradesman's token, Spanish dollars countermarked CROMFORD DERBYSHIRE around 4/9. It is surely probable that Arkwright and Price-Clarke were acquainted, that the latter knew of the Cromford token and advised Lady Ormonde to adopt the counter-marking practice herself.

¹ Stephen Glover, *Directory of the County of Derby*, 1829.

MISCELLANEA

'A NEW TYPE' FOR BURGRED

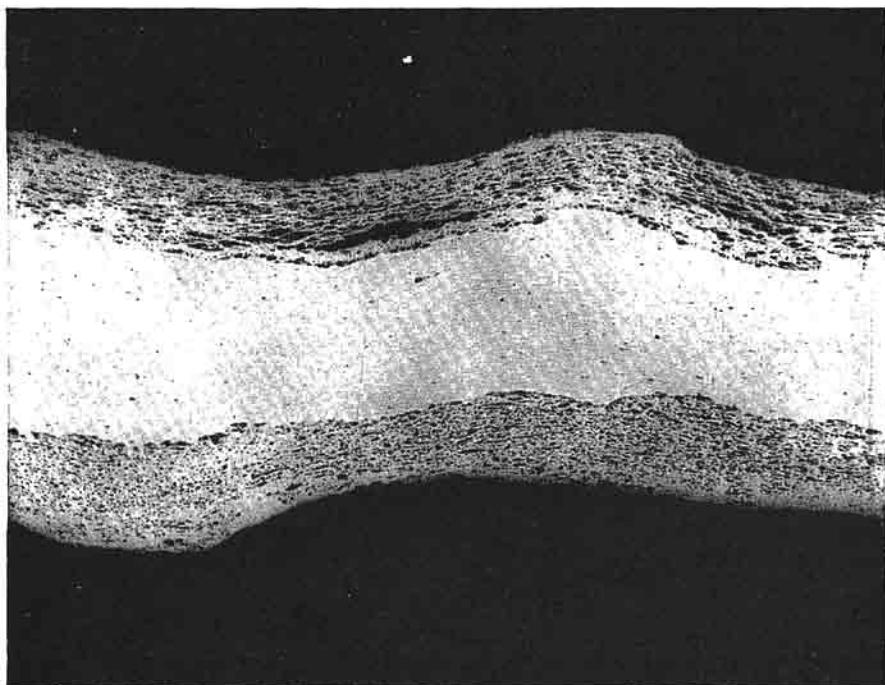
IN vol. xxix of the *Journal* (pp. 10-11) I illustrated what I described as a new type for Burgred with on the reverse two M-like objects at top and bottom of the coin. I was not aware at that time that a similar coin, though by a different moneyer, had been published by Mr. E. Prawdzic-Golembierski in the *Annual Report of the Peverel Archaeological Group* for 1955. Through his courtesy and that of the Peverel Archaeological Group, I am now permitted to record here this latter specimen which was found during excavations at Stoke Bardolph, Notts., in 1955. The obverse is of the

normal Burgred type and omits the Mercian title. The reverse reads ECCVLF MON ETA. Ecgulf, though not recorded as a moneyer for this reign in *BMC*, has since that publication been added to the National Collection (BMA 143).

It is now possible to record a third specimen of this type. A second coin by the moneyer Centred has recently turned up, from different dies from the one previously recorded, and this has now been added to the National Collection.

C. E. BLUNT

A CONTEMPORARY FORGERY OF EADGAR



A COIN of Eadgar by the moneyer Heriger (*BMC* type I) was recently submitted to the Royal Mint by Mr. R. H. M. Dolley on behalf of Dr. E. J. Harris for metallographic examination.

The coin was sectioned and a study made of the transverse structure. The accompanying photomicrograph (magnified about 70 times) shows that the coin consists of two distinct types of material arranged in sandwich fashion, the outer layers

being readily distinguished from the central core by their darker spotted appearance.

It was noted that the boundaries between the different layers follow approximately the contours of the coin; this together with the elongated grains of the outer layer indicate quite clearly that the coin was struck from a plated flan.

G. P. WARDEN

A NOTE OF TWO PROBLEMATICAL PENNIES OF ÆTHELRAËD II

IN a previous paper I commented on the necessity of checking the London coins of Æthelraëd II in the Stockholm Systematic Collection, in order to eliminate incorrect readings from Hildebrand's *Anglosachsiska Mynt*.¹ There I was particularly concerned with moneyers' names. With the two coins under consideration here, it is the mint that is in question. In the case of one, reattribution is fairly certain, whilst the other is rather more problematical.

On p. 120 of the 1881 edition of *Anglosachsiska Mynt* the following entry appears:

2856 a 3 + OSFERD M· O LVN Typ E.

This is at first sight unexceptionable. It is preceded by three entries for coins of a London moneyer Osferth, in types B1, B2, and B3. It might seem a little odd that the moneyer should reappear in type E after an interval of twelve years, but other examples are not lacking where there is evidence for a moneyer's activity in an early and a late type but none for the intervening types.

This particular coin is in poor condition, but the mint-signature looked sufficiently unlike the form in which it is recorded for me to turn to the other mints at which an Osferth is known in this type. Among the coins of Lincoln I found the same reverse die, and was able to supply the correct reading as + OSFERD M· O LINT, and to conclude that the supposedly London coin is a duplicate of Hild. Æthelraëd 1820. This latter coin is attributed to Lincoln by Hildebrand and in my opinion this attribution must stand. Mr. H. R. Mossop has kindly shown me a photograph of another coin on which it is possible to read the mint-signature as LINT, but there is no other known mint which such a reading would fit, and it would certainly be unwise to postulate a new mint on the grounds of these coins. Forms such as LING and LINE are found, and their attribution to Lincoln has not been questioned; the cutting of T for C is surely an error in the same class. It is almost certainly to Lincoln that the misread 'London' coin should be reattributed.

In the case of the second coin such a definite reattribution is not possible, but it is worth calling in question Hildebrand's attribution to London. The coin is Hild. Æthelraëd 2869, the moneyer Osmund, the type Long Cross or Hild. Typ D and the mint-signature is recorded as LVN. It must in fairness be said that Hildebrand did not overlook

the coin's irregularity, and provided a footnote 'slutet af inskriften oredig'—the end of the inscription is uncertain, or indistinct. In fact the whole of the mint-signature is so blundered as to make it almost valueless for purposes of assigning the coin to its mint. The form would appear to be IA VH.

A moneyer Osmund is known in Æthelraëd's reign at London, Lincoln, and Stamford. There is no other Long Cross coin of Osmund at London, and at Stamford a moneyer of the name is known only in the Last Small Cross type. For Lincoln, the Systematic Collection has eight coins of an Osmund in Long Cross, seven listed in *Anglosachsiska mynt* and one added since the compilation of that work. This unlisted example appears to be struck from the same obverse die as our problematical coin.

The pattern that has emerged in the study of die-links in this phase of the Anglo-Saxon coinage is this: the same obverse die may be found on coins of different but adjacent mints, but where the same obverse purports to share reverses of widely spaced mints, there is usually evidence that some at least of the coins in question were not struck in England.² It is unlikely, then, that the Osmund penny is a genuine London coin die-linked with Lincoln. Two possibilities remain. The simplest is that the blundered coin is in fact a coin of Osmund of Lincoln, with no complications of an inter-mint die-link. This possibility has the added attraction that there is plenty of evidence for the moneyer in the type. The other explanation notes the presence of an Osmund at Stamford and postulates a die-link between that mint and Lincoln. We know of a die-link between these same mints occurring in the reign of Harthacnut³ so this is by no means impossible. If the four blundered letters of mint-signature can bear any interpretation at all, it is perhaps easier to read STAN in them than a contraction for Lincoln. Against the Stamford theory is the fact that we have no evidence that the Stamford Osmund was striking earlier than 1009, the inception of the Last Small Cross type. Whilst we can be fairly certain that the coin should not be attributed to London, the claims of Lincoln and Stamford cannot well be resolved, unless future finds should give us an example of the obverse die with an unquestionable reverse of Osmund at Stamford.

V. J. SMART

links . . .' in *Commentationes de nummis in Suecia repertis*, i (1961), p. 171.

² Ibid., p. 170, quoting Miss G. van der Meer.

¹ 'Some Misread Moneyers of London', *BNJ* xxx (1961), p. 221.

² R. H. M. Dolley, 'The Relevance of Obverse Die-

A SECOND ANGLO-SAXON COIN OF READING



IN his note on the Anglo-Saxon mint of Reading¹ R. H. M. Dolley has come to the conclusion that of the five coins which had so far been attributed to that mint only one can be said with any degree of confidence to have been struck there. The coin in question which belongs to Edward the Confessor's Trefoil Quadrilateral type struck c. 1046-8² is preserved in the Systematic Collection in Stockholm (Hild. Edw. Conf. 635). The moneyer's name on this coin is spelled EORFF, but it has never

seriously been doubted that this should be read as CORFF.

The name Corff (also written Corrf and Corf) is of Scandinavian origin (cf. Old West-Scandinavian *Kurfr* = stump).³ It is not known from written sources, but only from coins struck in London during the period 1035-44, in both types of Harold I, the second type of Harthacnut, and the first type of Edward the Confessor.⁴ The fact that a moneyer with such a rare name struck at

p. 87.

² Cf. BNJ xxviii, i (1955), pp. 111-46.
³ E. Björkman, *Nordische Personennamen in England in alt- und frühmittel-englischer Zeit*, Halle, 1910.

Reading in Edward the Confessor's third type suggests that this was the same person and that he moved from London to Reading between c. 1044 and c. 1048. This supposition has now received considerable support by the discovery of a second Anglo-Saxon coin certainly struck at Reading. It belongs to Edward the Confessor's Radiate Small Cross type, his second type (c. 1044-6), and thus provides a link between the last type struck by Corff in London and the coin which was hitherto unique for Reading and is still unique for its type at that mint.

The new coin was discovered in the Manne-gårda hoard (SHM Inv. 11300) and is here illustrated by enlarged photographs which have been kindly supplied by the authorities of the Royal Coin Cabinet in Stockholm. Next to it is shown a London coin of Corff of Edward the Confessor's Pacx type (Hild. Edw. Conf. 443). The legends of the Reading coin are as follows:

Obv.: +EDPER DREXA
Rev.: +CORFF ON RÆADII

The spelling RÆAD of the first element of the mint name has not been recorded before,¹ and it must be due to a confusion on the part of the die-cutter. At the end of the tenth century the pronunciation of the diphthong ēa in Anglo-Saxon underwent a change and developed into the monophthong æ, but the spelling during the eleventh

century mostly remained ea.² The die-cutter may have started to engrave RÆD, because of the pronunciation of the name, and in time have remembered that the spelling should be READ, and have added an A. Similar mistakes are known in personal names on coins, specially names with Ead as their first element. The first instance of this on a late Anglo-Saxon coin occurs c. 980,³ while the last Æad-spelling in a moneyer's name noted so far is found on a coin of Cnut's Short Cross type (c. 1029-35),⁴ and in King Edward's name on two coins of his Facing Small Cross type (c. 1062-5).⁵

The abbreviation of the ending of the mint name does not present any difficulties. It often happened at the end of legends, when there was not enough space for a whole letter, that the die-cutter only engraved the first down-stroke, in this case of the N.

The importance of this new coin is that it proves that in the period 1044 to 1048 a mint was active at Reading, with a moneyer Corff who had probably moved from London c. 1044. The possibility always remains that also later types of Edward the Confessor were struck at Reading and further work on the Viking hoards in the Royal Coin Cabinet in Stockholm or new hoards elsewhere may still bring one or more of these to light.

GAY VAN DER MEER

A SMALL FIND OF STEPHEN PENNIES FROM BERKSHIRE

IN January 1963 Mr. D. A. Sherlock of Orford in Suffolk submitted to the Department of Coins and Medals at the British Museum an inscribed card on which were mounted plaster-casts of five pennies of the first issue of Stephen. This card, by the courtesy of Mr. Sherlock, is here illustrated photographically, and the legibility of the holograph captions, the work apparently of the future Sir George Hill himself, is such that the block is very largely self-explanatory. In 1881, it is clear, some *BMC* type I pennies of Stephen were discovered at Park Place, Henley-on-Thames, but close on forty years elapsed before their potential significance was appreciated and they were

brought to the notice of the numismatic world. At the British Museum the five coins were seen by Sir George Hill but not, it would seem, by G. C. Brooke, and with commendable generosity the owner Mr. Heatley Noble, the great-grandfather of Mr. Sherlock, presented to the National Collection the finer of the two die-duplicate pennies of Oxford and an enigmatic penny with a mint-signature of which the initial letter is indubitably R. The Oxford coin is of interest because a further die-identity establishes the moneyer of *BMC* 88 as Ra(w)ul(f)—we may compare, too, yet another coin formerly in the S. M. Spink collection which is perhaps to be identified

¹ E. Ekwall, *Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-names*, 4th ed., Oxford, 1960, p. 382.

² K. Luick, *Historische Grammatik der englischen Sprache*, i, Leipzig, 1921, § 356, 2, p. 332.

³ The spelling is also found on five coins of King Eadmund of Wessex, cf. H. A. Gruuber and C. K. Keary, *A Catalogue of English Coins in the British Museum II*, London, 1893, nos. 8, 9, 19, 91, 94.

According to Luick, o.c. 264, the monophthongization of ea may have begun in West Saxon as early as the ninth century, so that the same explanation may be valid for these early instances.

⁴ Cf. Hild. Æthelred 3677-81, 103, 2019-21; Cnut 1221, 1849-51, 1086.

⁵ H. A. Gruuber and C. F. Keary, op. cit., p. 369, nos. 401 and 405.



Silver pennies of Stephen (1135-54), found at Park Place, Henley on Thames, in 1881.
 First Type. Obverse: King's bust to right holding sceptre; inscr. STIEFNE REX (more or less blundered). Reverse: Cross noline, in each angle a fleur-de-lys; inscr. name of moneyer and mint. 1. Mint R.O. (1) [Rochester?]. 2. RA[PVL:ON]:OXEN Raul in Oxford. 3. Similar to no. 2. 4. S[...] JN:PIN Slaiet (or Sward) in Winchester. 5. [EST]HMUND:O[N:LVN] Edmund in London.
 Nos. 1 and 2 have been presented to the British Museum, Feb. 1920.

with one which Stainer recorded as belonging to W. J. Andrew.¹ The second of the coins presented by Mr. Heatley Noble was to exercise Brooke very considerably, but in the end he was able to run it to earth as a die-duplicate of *BMC* 20, a coin which in *Norman Kings* is given, but with a query, to Castle Rising.² As we shall see, though, the presence of this coin in the little find from Henley-

on-Thames in itself could be another straw in the wind, and few today would claim that the attribution to Castle Rising as opposed to Rye was other than controversial. Of the remaining coins little can be said beyond the fact that they appear to be by known moneyers but from dies unrecorded in the *British Museum Catalogue*. One is from London and by the well-attested moneyer

¹ C. L. Stainer, *Oxford Silver Pennies from A.D. 925-A.D. 1272*, Oxford, 1904.

² G. C. Brooke, *Catalogue of English Coins in the British Museum: The Norman Kings*, London, 1916.

Estmund, and the other from Winchester by a moneyer whose name began with s, but whether Sait or Siward—or even Sawulf or Stigant—in the absence of a die-link there seems no means of discovering.

Surprisingly, Brooke, though recording the Henley-on-Thames provenance on the back of the tickets accompanying the two coins acquired by the British Museum, took no steps to publish the find, an omission the more surprising since it is probably to Brooke that there should be given the credit for the suggestion that the BER—moneyer obtained by collation of *BMC* 20 with the new coin from the mint of R is the same man as the Bertold of the two coins in South Kyme hoard published by L. A. Lawrence in 1922, a Bertold whom W. J. Andrew is found associating provisionally with Castle Rising in a note read before the British Numismatic Society¹ in 1930. It is significant, though, that Bertold appears as a moneyer neither of Rye nor of Castle Rising in the original edition of *English Coins*,² and the truth is probably that Brooke appreciated that the whole question needed investigation far more thorough than could be undertaken in view of his other commitments. In this connexion, too, it should be remembered that it was not until October 1921 that Brooke returned to the museum from the Central Liquor Board where he had been since 1916, and so was amply preoccupied with more urgent arrears of work at the time when the little find from Henley-on-Thames still possessed any real immediacy.

That the five coins shown at the museum in 1920 represent the full extent of the find may be taken as certain. Not only is family tradition quite specific on this point, but we must not forget

that the find was unknown to Stainer in 1904 and Brooke in 1916, not to mention Mr. J. D. A. Thompson in 1956 and the present editors of the *Victoria County Histories* both of Berkshire and of Oxfordshire. Had there been other parcels it seems almost inconceivable that by now they would not have come to the attention of interested parties, and it may be observed that such parcels would almost certainly have included coins of the Oxford mint—cf. the die-duplicate pennies of Ra(w)ul(f) in the find as now published—and as such they would have had a double claim on the attention of Stainer who was living and working in the same county as Henley-on-Thames. There is, too, no tradition of a container, and this again is consistent with there being so few pieces. The historical occasion for the concealment or loss is obvious, and it is suggested that in the new edition of the *Inventory* the little find from Henley-on-Thames might merit an entry on the lines of the following:

HENLEY-ON-THAMES, Berkshire, 1881.

5 AR Norman pennies. Deposit: c. 1140.

Stephen. *BMC(N)* Type i—London: Estmund, 1. Oxford: Ra(w)ul(f), 2. 11 (Castle Rising or Rye?): Bertold, 1. Winchester: S—, 1.

No container? The coins were found at Park Place on the Berkshire side of the river. Two were presented to the British Museum in 1920, and three are in the possession of the then owner's descendants.

R. H. M. Dolley in *BNJ* xxxi (1962), pp. 162–4.

R. H. M. DOLLEY

THE ASTON CHURCH FIND

Thompson: *Inventory* 44³

THE medieval chancel of Aston Church, Birmingham, was rebuilt during 1879. The newspaper report⁴ of the laying of the foundation stone quotes the Rev. W. Eliot as saying that the previous week four coins were found in the south-east corner of the chancel under the sedilia.⁵ The

¹ Report of 22 Oct. 1930 meeting of British Numismatic Society as printed in *Spink's Numismatic Circular*, 1931, cc. 69 and 70. The report is a verbatim transcript of the paper as published (*BNJ* xx (1929/1930), pp. 117–21) except for the omission of perhaps the most decisive argument—the Linton hoard-provenance.

² G. C. Brooke, *English Coins*, 1st edn., London,

find therefore was made during the week ending 20 September 1879. The vicar, having attributed three of the coins to Edward I and one to Alexander III of Scots, suggested that they were a foundation deposit connected with the rebuilding of the chancel at the end of the thirteenth century.

1932. In the 1950 supplement, however, Bertold appears as a moneyer of Castle Rising.

³ J. D. A. Thompson, *Inventory of British Coin Hoards, A.D. 600–1500* (1956), p. 15.

⁴ *Birmingham Daily Gazette*, 25 Sept. 1879, p. 5.

⁵ Also in: Rev. W. Eliot, *The Parish Church of Aston-Juxta-Birmingham* (1889), p. 13; G. Davies (Ed.), *The Parish Church of St. Peter and St. Paul* (1947), p. 11.

Mr. P. B. Chatwin, the son of the architect in charge of the restoration work, recalls that the coins were found embedded into the mortar between the stones of the chancel wall below the sedilia. It appeared to the finders that the coins had been pushed into the mortar when it was first laid.¹

In view of the amended attribution² of two of the

Although the composition of the find is not incompatible with this explanation, the poor condition of the coins would appear to render it less likely.

Alternatively, it is possible that the coins were chance losses, hidden in a crevice of the wall, which were embedded into the mortar of a later repair.



coins to the reign of Edward III the date of that part of the chancel wall in which they were found is of importance in deciding whether the find was in fact a foundation deposit and, if so, the date of its deposition.

There is unfortunately no documentary evidence for the date of the chancel. Writing before the date of the restoration A. E. Everitt³ describes the chancel as a whole as having a few courses of earlier masonry in the wall which he ascribes on stylistic grounds to the later thirteenth century. Neither is there any record in the fuller documentation of the following century of rebuilding or repairs consistent with the dates of the coins.

The find may then represent the foundation deposit of an unrecorded fourteenth-century repair to the sedilia, the traces of which in the masonry were too slight to attract Everitt's attention.

The coins remained in the possession of the architect, Mr. J. A. Chatwin, until they were presented to the Birmingham City Museum in 1892. They are at present on loan to Aston Church.

The coins are:⁴

1. Edward I. London penny. Class 2b 1.05 gr. (North 1015).⁵
2. Edward III. London halfpenny. 1344-51 coinage. 0.65 gr. (North 1131).
3. Edward III. York penny. 1361-9 coinage. 1.06 gr. (North 1228).
4. Alexander III of Scots. Penny. 2nd issue. Class B. 1.27 gr.

M. M. ARCHIBALD

A CHESTER UNITE OF CHARLES I

THERE is a unite whose place in the provincial series of Charles I has hitherto been doubtful (Fig. 1). North (no. 2324) and the Lockett Cata-

logue (English, pt. iv, lot 4183) follow Brooke and Kenyon in listing this extremely rare piece under Aberystwyth, but it is too rough and crude to

¹ I am indebted to Mr. P. B. Chatwin for this information.

² Thompson, op. cit.

³ A. E. Everitt, Aston Church in *Transactions of the Birmingham Archaeological Society*, 1872, p. 2.

⁴ I am indebted to Mr. R. H. M. Dolley for checking the attribution of the coins.

⁵ J. J. North, *English Hammered Coinage*, vol. 2, (1960).

match the neat and well-made silver of that mint. The attribution has generally been recognized as unsatisfactory, but has not been formally challenged.

3. Several letters of the fount are identical, notably E, N, R, and S—compare, for example, the word REX.

The Chester coinage, hitherto certainly known



FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.

I attribute it to Chester because of the identity of several of its punches to those of the half-crowns inscribed CHST (Fig. 2). The following points are especially to be noted:

1. The plume of the unite's privy mark is identical with that behind the king on the half-crown.
2. The harps of the royal arms are identical.

only in the half-crown denomination, was produced during 1645. On 31 January of that year, the Corporation ordered the conversion of £100 worth of plate into coin 'for the necessary use and defence of this city'. Chester surrendered to its Parliamentary besiegers on 3 February 1646 (new style).

J. P. C. KENT

REVIEWS

La Fonction sociale de la monnaie en Angleterre aux VII^e–VIII^e siècles. By Philip Grierson. Extracted from *Moneta e scambi nell'alto medioevo (Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, VIII, Spoleto, 21–27 aprile 1960).* Spoleto, 1961.

FROM this paper delivered at Spoleto in 1960, we are given an idea of what to expect when Mr. Grierson's Ford Lectures are published. Its importance to the student of early medieval coinage, no less than to the audience to which it was addressed, can scarcely be exaggerated, but it is also of much wider interest for the light that it sheds on the origins of our present monetary system.

The author points out that the word *shilling* meant, originally, a 'cutting' from a ring of gold. The early seventh-century laws of Æthelberht of Kent expressed fines in terms of a shilling comprising twenty *sceattas*, but since there was no true native coinage in Kent at that time these units could not have been intended to denote coins: they were, the author suggests, units of weight of gold, and he cites the *Widsith*, a very early dated English poem, for a reference to a ring of gold marked in shillings and *sceattas*. The natural development, when a gold coinage was eventually introduced, would have been to relate it to the system of weights already familiar to the public, and this principle leads Mr. Grierson to the conclusion that the late seventh-century gold coins of the Crondall hoard, usually referred to by numismatists as *thrymsas*, were in fact the first English shilling coins.

The basic unit of gold weight, the *sceatta*, is shown to have been equal to the average weight of a grain of barley—later to be known as the Troy grain—in the same way that the Greco-Roman *carat* represented the average weight of the seed of the carob (*ceratonia siliqua*), a plant unknown in the Germanic countries. (In the discussion which followed the paper, Mr. Grierson was asked whether grains weighed the same in the seventh century as they did today, and he was able to quote some nineteenth-century experiments which showed a very close correspondence between the Troy grain and the grain of barley.) A startling demonstration of the validity of the equation '*sceatta* equals Troy grain' is afforded by an analysis of the weights of the 96 Frankish and

Anglo-Saxon coins in the Crondall hoard, only two of which weigh less than 19 grains and only one more than 20.5 grains, the average being 19.8 grains. The weight standard must have been 20 grains, and so bears out the relationship of 20 to 1 between shilling and *sceatta* implicit in Æthelberht's laws. More than this, the reduction in weight of the Merovingian *tremissis* from 1.5 g. (23 gr.) to 1.3 g. (20 gr.) towards the end of the sixth century can be seen in this light as a change from a Roman weight standard based on the carat to a Germanic standard based on the Troy grain.

In the laws of Ine of Wessex, dating from about 690, and in late seventh-century and early eighth-century glossaries, a new monetary term appeared for the first time; the *penny*, otherwise *pending* or *penning*. Mr. Grierson contends that this name must have been given to the small, dumpy pieces of silver, improperly called *sceattas* by numismatists, that were taking the place of the gold shillings, and he argues, from a consideration of the weights of two sets of die-duplicates of some of the earliest of these pieces out of an unpublished German hoard from the Emden district, that the average weight of these pennies was originally intended to be 20 grains, the same as the gold shilling. It follows that the relative values of these coins must have depended solely on the relative prices of gold and silver—assuming that both gold and silver coins were of full intrinsic value, or were overvalued to the same degree, a point which the author does not discuss. It is known for the Carolingian era that these prices were in the ratio of twelve to one, which, with the reservation just made, would if applicable in Merovingian times satisfactorily explain the relationship of twelve pennies to the shilling which persists to this day. The adoption of a fourpenny shilling in Mercia and a fivepenny shilling in Wessex would then have resulted from the comparison having been made between the new silver penny and the much debased gold shilling which was in circulation at the turn of the century.

The last part of the paper is devoted to an explanation of the organization of an economy such as that of early Anglo-Saxon England which was not dependent on coined money to any appreciable extent. That this was so can largely be attributed to the size of the family group, within which goods and services are provided without recourse to

money, having been very much larger in early medieval times than it is now. In addition, the custom of exchanging gifts was an important part of social life, not merely, as now, of a symbolic nature as at Christmas and Easter. Finally, there was the indeterminate but doubtless substantial part played by barter. The author is at pains to emphasize that the absence of coined money does not imply the absence of wealth, nor does the debasement of the gold shilling at the end of the seventh century and its replacement by the silver penny indicate economic decline: the abandonment of a gold coinage was probably dictated by a decline in the supply of gold reaching western Europe from the eastern Mediterranean. Nevertheless, the adoption of a silver coinage in its place facilitated rather than impeded economic progress.

Mr. Grierson's theory of the origins of our coinage and monetary system is convincing for its very simplicity. It is clear that we should in future refer to gold shillings rather than *thrymsas*, and to silver pennies rather than *sceattas*, but the problem is to avoid confusing the early, small, but thick pennies with the later, larger thin pieces to which the name 'penny' has always been given. One would also like to know the correct name for the Northumbrian copper coins of the fourth and fifth decades of the ninth century, traditionally referred to by numismatists as *stycas*, which seem to owe their inspiration to the early, dumpy pennies of the eighth century. Perhaps we can look to the Ford Lectures—the publication of which will be an event of the first importance—for an answer.

One hesitates to criticize an essay of this kind on points of detail, but it is to be regretted that the author should have subscribed without qualification to the theory that the latest coins of Roman Britain were *minimissimi* dating from the fifth century. Nor was Canterbury the only mint of Offa: there was certainly a coinage in East Anglia in Offa's time, and probably even earlier. These are, however, minor blemishes in a paper which represents a major contribution to early medieval history and numismatics.

C. S. S. L.

A Brief Numismatic History of Bristol, by L. V. GRINSELL. Published by the City Museum, Bristol, 1962. 28 pp. + 4 pl. Price 2s. 6d. (or 3s. inc. postage).

The value of collecting together in one place

a record of the products of a single mint, or at times a group of neighbouring smaller mints, has been increasingly recognized in recent years, particularly in the Anglo-Saxon series, though much still remains to be done. Mr. Grinsell's little handbook is an excellent example of the type of publication that provincial museums and archaeological societies could usefully sponsor. It shows how from late in the reign of Æthelred II (or possibly that of Cnut) until the end of the reign of William II the mint was almost continuously active and gives lists of the moneyers and of the forms the mint name took on the coinage at different times. Later, the Bristol mint operated only occasionally, either in connexion with, a general recoinage or, as in the reigns of Stephen and of Charles I, in an emergency. These later issues are reviewed individually and details given of the types and denominations that were struck at Bristol. In a future edition it might be worth bringing out the point that halfpennies and farthings were in fact struck at Bristol under Edward I and that it was one of the relatively few provincial mints to issue both.

In addition to the coins, Mr. Grinsell's review also deals with tokens, trade checks, and such historical medals as are connected with Bristol. Of special interest are the sixteenth-century tokens, the earliest dated 1511, which the local supply of lead from Mendip put Bristol in a specially favourable position to produce. Of the medals the most important is one struck in 1643 to commemorate the fall of the city to the Royalists. This is reproduced in colour on the outer cover.

C. E. B.

The Marlborough Token Coinage of the 17th Century, by E. G. H. KEMPSON. *Report of the Marlborough College Natural History Society for the year 1961*, no. 101, pp. 31-45.

In this paper Mr. Kempson gives a brief summary of the circumstances that led to the wide-spread issue of private tokens in the seventeenth century, with particular reference to Marlborough, and provides an up-to-date list of those issued from that town and from the neighbouring villages of Aldbourne, Great Bedwyn, Ramsbury, and Shalbourne. Brief biographical notices of the issuers are added.

C. E. B.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY, 1962

PRESIDENTS OF THE SOCIETY

1903-8	P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., F.S.A.
1909	W. J. ANDREW, F.S.A.
1910-14	P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., F.S.A.
1915-19	LIEUT.-COL. H. W. MORRIESON, R.A., F.S.A.
1920-1	FREDERICK A. WALTERS, F.S.A.
1922	J. SANFORD SALTUS—till 22 June
1922	GRANT R. FRANCIS—from 28 June
1923-5	GRANT R. FRANCIS
1926-7	MAJOR W. J. FREER, V.D., D.L., F.S.A.
1928	MAJOR P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., J.P., F.S.A.—till 20 February
1928	LIEUT.-COL. H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.—from 22 February
1929-32	LIEUT.-COL. H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.
1933-7	V. B. CROWTHER-BEYNON, M.B.E., M.A., F.S.A.
1938-45	H. W. TAFFS, M.B.E.
1946-50	CHRISTOPHER E. BLUNT, O.B.E., F.S.A.
1951-4	EDGAR J. WINSTANLEY
1955-8	HORACE H. KING, M.A.
1959-	DEREK F. ALLEN, B.A., F.S.A.

THE JOHN SANFORD SALTUS GOLD MEDAL

This medal is awarded by ballot of all the members triennially to 'the member of the Society whose paper or papers appearing in the Society's publications shall receive the highest number of votes from the Members as being in their opinion the best in the interest of numismatic science'.

The medal was founded by the late John Sanford Saltus, Officier de la Légion d'Honneur, of New York, a Vice-President of the Society, by the gift of £200 in the year 1910.

Medallists

1910	P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., F.S.A.
1911	MISS HELEN FARQUHAR
1914	W. J. ANDREW, F.S.A.
1917	L. A. LAWRENCE, F.S.A.
1920	LIEUT.-COL. H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.
1923	H. ALEXANDER PARSONS
1926	GRANT R. FRANCIS, F.S.A.
1929	J. S. SHIRLEY-FOX, R.B.A.
1932	CHARLES WINTER

1935	RAYMOND CARLYON-BRITTON
1938	WILLIAM C. WELLS
1941	CUTHBERT A. WHITTON
1944	Not awarded
1947	R. CYRIL LOCKETT, J.P., F.S.A.
1950	CHRISTOPHER E. BLUNT, O.B.E., F.S.A.
1953	DEREK F. ALLEN, B.A., F.S.A.
1956	F. ELMORE JONES
1959	R. H. M. DOLLEY, B.A., F.S.A.
1962	HORACE H. KING, M.A.

(*For Officers and Council for 1962 see Vol. XXX, page 376*)

At an Ordinary Meeting held at the Warburg Institute, Woburn Square, London, W.C. 1, on Tuesday, 23 January, Mr. Derek F. Allen, President, in the chair, there were elected to Ordinary Membership Mr. Elliott Montroll and Dr. Erik Miller, to Junior Membership Mr. A. W. Dowle and Mr. M. A. Head, and to Institutional Membership the London Museum. The meeting was devoted to a symposium on the problem of the date of the first English Gold Coinage.

At an Ordinary Meeting held at the Warburg Institute on 27 February, Mr. Derek Allen, President, in the chair, Mr. D. Dupree was elected to Ordinary Membership, and the International Coin Company to Institutional Membership. The meeting was devoted to a Medal Evening.

At an Ordinary Meeting held at the Warburg Institute on 27 March, Mr. C. E. Blunt, Vice-President, in the chair, there were elected to Ordinary Membership Mr. S. M. Posner, Mr. H. G. Stride, and Mr. N. F. Turner, to Junior Membership Mr. C. Speaight. Mr. C. S. S. Lyon read a paper by Mr. B. H. I. H. Stewart and himself on 'The Coinage of Southern England during the decline of Mercia'.

At an Ordinary Meeting held at the Warburg Institute on 24 April, Mr. Derek Allen, President, in the chair, Miss M. M. Archibald and Mr. J. H. Hartley were elected to Ordinary Membership and Mr. A. D. Scott to Junior Membership. The main business of the evening consisted of two papers by Junior Members, whilst Dr. Kent reported on a recent hoard. Mr. D. Fearon spoke on seventeenth-century Medallists from Briot to Roettiers. Mr. D. Freedman spoke on seventeenth-century Irish Tokens. Dr. Kent described a civil war hoard found in Newark at the end of 1961 consisting of 97 gold pieces ranging from 1601 to 1639/40, and Dr. Kent exhibited the whole hoard to illustrate his paper.

At an Ordinary Meeting held at the Warburg Institute on 22 May, Mr. R. H. M. Dolley, Director, in the chair, Mr. J. C. St. A. Malcolm was elected to Ordinary Membership. Mr. D. G. Sellwood read a paper on Medieval Die-making, which he accompanied by demonstrations.

At an Ordinary Meeting held at the Warburg Institute on 26 June, Mr. Derek Allen, President, in the chair, Mr. J. L. Goddard and Mr. J. Gavin Scott were elected Ordinary Members. Mr. R. H. M. Dolley read a paper on 'Anglo-Saxon and Norman Coins from recent excavations'.

At an Ordinary Meeting held at the Warburg Institute on 25 September, Mr. Derek Allen, President, in the chair, Mr. H. R. Jessop was elected to Ordinary Membership and Mr. J. C. Allen to Junior Membership. The President read a paper on the large hoard of gold staters found some years ago between Guildford and Haslemere, consisting of uniface staters of Gallo-Belgic 'Morini' type and Whaddon Chase 'Cassivel-launus' type.

At an Ordinary Meeting held at the Warburg Institute on 23 October, Mr. C. E. Blunt, Vice-President, in the chair, Mr. F. Banks, Mr. W. E. Barnet, Dr. W. N. Mann and Mr. J. R. Wigley were elected to Ordinary Membership and Mr. S. T. E. Courtney and Mr. A. C. Hocking to Junior Membership. Mr. B. H. I. H. Stewart read a paper on 'Die Ratios'.

At the Anniversary Meeting held at the Warburg Institute on 27 November, Mr. Derek Allen, President, in the chair, Mr. I. F. Round and Mr. F. H. Leach were elected to Membership. The following Officers were elected for 1963:

President: Derek F. Allen, M.A., F.S.A.

Vice-Presidents: A. E. Bagnall; C. E. Blunt, O.B.E., F.S.A.; E. Burstal, M.A., M.D.; G. V. Doubleday; H. H. King, M.A.; E. J. Winstanley, L.D.S.

Director: R. H. M. Dolley, B.A., F.S.A.

Secretary: W. Slayter.

Treasurer: C. S. S. Lyon, B.A., F.I.A.

Librarian: J. P. C. Kent, Ph.D., F.S.A.

Council: C. H. Allen; J. D. Brand; E. J. Harris, D.Sc.; Major C. W. Lister, R.A.; Commander R. P. Mack, M.V.O., R.N.; C. W. Peck, F.S.A., F.P.S.; J. G. Pollard, M.A.; J. Porteous, M.A.; S. E. Rigold, M.A.; H. Schneider; B. H. I. H. Stewart, B.A., F.S.A.(Scot.); J. Weibel; P. Woodhead.

The President, Mr. Derek F. Allen, delivered the Presidential Address. The result of the ballot for the John Sanford Saltus medal was announced; the medal had been awarded to Mr. H. H. King.

EXHIBITIONS

January

By Major C. W. Lister:

A Whaddon Chase stater with a wheel under the horse. Found during the war in a hoard of some eighty coins between Guildford and Haslemere.

By Mr. Peter Seaby:

A penny of Henry I, Wallingford mint, annulets type (Brooke 1). Moneyer Godwine —unpublished for this type. + HNRI REX I/+ GODPINE ON PAL.

By Mr. P. Grierson:

A gold coin of the sixth or seventh century of the module of a tremissis. *Obv.* + CADAINDI + FILIO, bust r. *Rev.* Two standing figures holding between them a ring and with their free hands raised and much exaggerated in size; above them the word VENTA (NT in monogram), scattered letters in field.

The coin has been several times published—it is the identical specimen described and illustrated in Belfort, *Descr. générale des monnaies mérovingiennes* (1893), no. 4731—and variously attributed; Ponton d'Amécourt in 1883 ascribed it to Winchester, and George Stephens, in his *Old-Northern Runic monuments*, iii (1884), pp. 236–45, discussed it at great length and absurdly construed its inscription into runes reading *Aeniwulu ku*, i.e. Anwulf king.

The coin has been known since 1737, and in the early 1830's was in the Norblin collection, but since the dispersal of the Ponton d'Amécourt collection had disappeared from sight. Its reputation has suffered from the fact that a number of crude reproductions in gold and silver, made in the 1830's and 1840's, are to be found in museums, and it has been generally reputed a forgery. Its strange reverse type and its style and fabric certainly give ground for suspicion, but a coin of a similar reverse type, now in The Hague, seems to have been discovered after this one was known. It does not give the appearance of being Frankish, and it is very different in style and fabric from any Anglo-Saxon coins.

February

By Mr. P. Spufford:

Stephen penny, mule types *BMC I/II. (+ST)IEFNE/+RA()NR()*. Moneyer and mint uncertain, perhaps Rawulf of Rye.

April

By Dr. J. P. C. Kent:

The whole of the Newark hoard in illustration of his paper.

June

By Mr. F. Elmore Jones:

Norman pennies to illustrate the paper.

By Dr. J. P. C. Kent:

English gold coins from the Ramsgate treasure trove.

By Mr. R. H. M. Dolley:

Anglo-Saxon and Norman coins from Cheddar, Llantrithyd, and Southampton excavations.

By Mr. A. E. Bagnall:

A selection of rare Anglo-Saxon coins.

September

By Commander R. P. Mack:

A series of gold staters and one quarter-stater from the Haslemere hoard, together with three rare gold staters from Kent.

By Major C. W. Lister:

Three gold staters from the Haslemere hoard.

October

By Mr. H. Schneider:

An Edward IV half-ryal, i.m. Long Cross Fitchée pierced (on reverse only). Ex P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton Collection. (Pl. V. 18).

Obv. ED/WARD:DI.GRA'REX.ANGL'Z/FRANC.

Rev. DOMINE.NE.IN.FVRORE.TVO.ARGVAS.ME

Stops, trefoils on both sides. Wt. 57.8 gr. No fleur-de-lis on side of ship. An exceptional feature of this coin is that pellets take the place of the normal trefoils in the spandrels of the reverse. There appears to be only one other specimen known of a half-ryal with this initial mark.

By Mr. B. H. I. H. Stewart:

Nine Sterlings of the Crescent and Pellet coinage of William the Lion of Scotland.

November

By Mr. C. E. Blunt:

Casts of four pennies of Archbishop Æthelred, 870-89, including one exhibited by courtesy of the Maidstone Museum, this now making the fourth known.

By Mr. C. S. S. Lyon:

Two coins of Æthelred II, Last Small Cross type (c. 1009-16), Huntingdon moneyer Ælfget and London moneyer Godwine. The coins are from the same obverse die.

There was exhibited at the January 1960 meeting of the Society by Mr. D. G. Liddell a heavy noble of Calais of Henry IV. This coin is described on p. 203 of Vol. XXX. It is now possible to illustrate it. Pl. V. 17.

ADDRESS BY DEREK F. ALLEN

PRESIDENT OF THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

Delivered at the Anniversary Meeting, 27 November 1962

THIS is the fourth time I have had the honour to address you as President. Looking back over what I have said to you in previous years, it seems to me that my theme has been depressingly uniform: too little money and not enough members. On the other hand, I have been able consistently to point to a lively and increasing interest in our studies. All this remains true today.

Our membership is still slowly rising. It now stands at 341 compared with 334 at this time last year and 322 the year before that. The membership in that year had dropped suddenly as a result of the increase in our subscription. I am glad to say that we have now completely recovered the lost ground, our membership today being precisely the same as in 1959. Although there are enough active numismatists in this country for us to be able to expect to do better, it looks as if past pleas for a recruitment drive are beginning to bear fruit.

The present number of our junior members is 23, or about 10 per cent. of our personal membership. This is an encouraging pointer to a successful future. I am glad that this year we have been able to make a start with events specially for junior members. On one evening we heard two encouraging papers from junior members.

Although 92 Institutional members may seem a fair number, our journal should be taken by more of the public and institutional libraries in this country and abroad. We plan to do what we can to improve this situation.

Of those members who have died during the year I need only mention three. Dr. Parkes Weber, who was 96, had been an active supporter of British numismatics for a great many years and was a well-known figure before many present members of the Society were born. One recalls his book on medical medals and his various articles on a wide variety of numismatic interests. I should also mention the extremely interesting and varied collection which he gave to the British Museum in 1906, when failing eyesight caused him to give up collecting. He was happily spared to live many years after that.

Of a much younger generation was Professor James R. Stewart, who died at an untimely age in Australia. Although distance kept him from our meetings, he was in fact one of our very strong supporters and I have no doubt that, had his career brought him back to this country, he would have played a prominent part in our affairs. One recalls particularly his work on Crusader coins. We can ill afford his loss.

Finally, I should mention Mr. R. T. Christopher, who died on 15 October. After your Vice-President, Mr. King, he was the Society's senior member, having been elected in 1914. It is sad to lose these links with our past.

In my last address I gave the Society notice that an increase was to be expected in the annual subscription this year. I am happy to be able to announce a temporary reprieve. We have come to the conclusion that we can carry on for one more year with the subscription at the present level, which has only been in force for 3 years. Although in 1962

our expenditure again exceeded our income by £85, our Treasurer, Mr. Lyon, to whom we are all very grateful for his continuing efforts on our behalf, has satisfied the Council that taking the favourable and unfavourable factors into account we have the money in hand or promised to cover our immediate commitments. This includes the forthcoming *Journal*, which is being kept within strict limits of size and incorporates some economy measures. Even so, we owe much to the continued generosity of some of our members. Nevertheless, the future outlook, against a background of rising printing costs, is no rosier than in previous years, and the anticipated increase will take place in the coming year. The appropriate resolution will be put before the Society in due course. I must say that I would much rather we could finance ourselves by a more rapidly rising membership than by an increase in subscriptions, which is once again bound to lose us some members, but we have to deal with realities.

One of the difficulties of a Society such as ours is to find officers able and willing to devote themselves to the often humdrum and tedious tasks of administration. Time is limited and study or research are intrinsically more remunerative occupations. Nevertheless it is on bodies such as ourselves and our main sister Society that the future of numismatic knowledge in this country depends. It is essential in the interests of all—including those who do not trouble to join these Societies but use our work—that our affairs should be well conducted. I hope that members appreciate the scale of effort involved and the sacrifice of time from which they benefit. I would like to take this opportunity of expressing my own appreciation of this labour and of mentioning individually those who bear the main brunt.

In the first place the Society owes a great debt to the Editorial Committee, which manages the *British Numismatic Journal*. This publication maintains the highest standards of research and of presentation. Your past Presidents, Mr. King and Mr. Blunt, share this task with your Director, Mr. Dolley. Mr. King's part is particularly heavy; he superintends the details of publication, and I am anxious that the Society should recognize that their debt to Mr. King is continuous.

I would like here also to refer to the continuing support of the British Academy, which has once again contributed a sum of £100 towards the publication of the *Journal* from the funds placed at its disposal by All Souls College, Oxford. This is welcome evidence of the value attached to our *Journal* by a learned body which is in the best possible position to compare our work with other historical and archaeological publications.

While the *Journal* is perhaps the most prominent of our activities, the organization of our monthly meetings requires more attention and planning, perhaps, than is realized. Mr. Dolley has provided as varied a programme as usual, with the emphasis spread throughout the range of the Society's interests—I have already mentioned the Junior Members' evening, at which I would hope in future to see a larger attendance.

The evening which I recall most vividly is that on which the President of the Royal Numismatic Society, in the presence of our assembled membership, solemnly struck a false penny of the Confessor. I also recall the evening when we discussed, in a symposium, the still unsettled problem of the earliest Saxon gold coinage. I believe that we could with advantage extend that technique, and that Conferences or Symposia at which historians, epigraphists, and archaeologists can meet and share their problems would be particularly fruitful. The problems of the sceatta would make a most suitable theme. Perhaps I might

also mention the account we heard of a hoard of coins of Henry I from South Wales which almost doubled the number of specimens of one of his rarest and most interesting types.

To return to our officers, Mr. Spufford has unfortunately not been able to complete the year as your Secretary, and we have therefore invited Mr. Slayter to act as Secretary, in anticipation that you will duly so elect him today. I welcome him in this critical and central role, to which I am sure he will bring energy and devotion to his task. It will, I am sure, be for the convenience of the Society that the Secretary should again be resident in the London area.

Finally, I should like to refer to the work of our Librarian, Dr. Kent, under whose guidance the work of amalgamating our library with that of the Royal Numismatic Society and of preparing a joint catalogue has been carried further. While far short of complete, we have the nucleus of a first-class and really wide-ranging lending library. Members who have numismatic books they can spare would be doing the Societies a real and lasting service if, before they dispose of them, they were to check that these are not amongst the Society's desiderata. I am particularly anxious that all members who write or publish on numismatic or kindred subjects should remember to present the library with a copy of their work. We are warmly grateful to the Warburg Institute, and to Dr. Barb in particular, for housing us and attending to our needs.

Dr. Kent is also our representative on the Council of the British Association of Numismatic Societies. I am glad that we are annually associated with their numismatic congress, held this year in Newcastle upon Tyne. I do not consider our Society in any way in competition with the active local numismatic societies, now so widely spread throughout the country—though I would naturally like to see more country numismatists becoming members. I hope you will all do your best to support the Cheltenham Congress to be held in May, fortunately within easy reach of London.

It has been my custom to refer in this address to the principal numismatic publications which have taken place in the past year. We can all give a welcome to the enormous erudition which has gone into Mr. R. A. G. Carson's world-wide study of *Coins*. A work of reference of this kind is a vast undertaking, and he is to be congratulated on the outcome, which enables us to see the subjects of our study in their full context. That is not to say that all specialists will agree with every word Mr. Carson has said.

I feel that I must refer to the pair of unhappily successful thefts of coins from Messrs. Spink and Messrs. Seaby, which caught the news in the early part of the year. This has been a tragedy, not only for the firms and the collectors concerned, but also for students generally. We cannot afford to lose pieces of the quality which were taken. Recent news suggests that some part may yet be recoverable. Let us sincerely hope that it is so. We hope next year with the kind co-operation of Messrs. Spink to put on record in our *Journal* photographs of some of the more important of the lost pieces.

The loss of rare coins cannot fail to accentuate a process now in evidence which seems to me to have reached a stage which calls for comment. For many years the price of antiquities has been rising. In so far as this represents the process of natural inflation, that is something to which the student of antiquities can hardly object—we, if anybody, should understand the effect of inflation through the ages. In so far as the price reflects a growing body of students and other collectors, whereby supply cannot quite meet demand, then again we should have little ground for complaint. It does seem, however,

that at the present time the market for antiquities in general, and I might almost say coins in particular, has reached a stage where prices tend to reflect an investment value, with the consequence that coins then begin to pass beyond the reach of those would-be collectors on whom so much numismatic study depends. I am conscious that prices collectively happen, by the operation of market factors, and are not in the control of individuals; nevertheless we, as a Society, must I think deplore a state of affairs which makes it continually harder for our members to acquire the material of study, more especially in those fields where success depends on material in bulk.

It is customary for the President of a Society such as this, having given some account of the progress of the Society in the course of the year, to address his further remarks to any subject which he feels may be of interest or use to members. I have always resisted the temptation to take the easy course of talking to you about the limited field of coins in which I am personally involved, and on which I have often had the privilege of speaking. In turning over in my mind what I might say to you today, it occurred to me to look for some subject which is not often on our agenda and yet affects all numismatists to a greater or lesser extent.

After a holiday abroad, in which I have paid calls on a number of museums, I have come away impressed with the problems of the public display of coins and medals. I have never seen an entirely satisfactory solution nor do I pretend that I can offer you one now. This is, however, a practical issue of a kind to which we can afford from time to time to turn our minds.

Display behind glass is necessary in any context where the coins and medals cannot be kept under constant supervision; but it is the nature of a coin or medal, more perhaps than of any other form of antiquity, that it must be handled to be fully appreciated. Unless it can be turned in the light it is unlikely that all the details can be properly seen—and there is always the problem of seeing both sides, not to mention the edge. All this is impossible under glass, and ingenuity has to be employed to overcome these difficulties. The reverse can be shown—indeed both sides can be shown—in cast or electro-type or even photograph beside the original; alternatively the coin can be so placed in a vertical panel with glass on both sides that obverse and reverse can both be seen separately—if one has the industry to identify the individual coin on the other side. Another course is to suspend the coin over a mirror so that the reverse—in reverse—becomes visible by reflection. In practice this rarely offers a satisfactory solution. More usually the problem is not faced and two coins of the same type are shown in pairs side by side, one giving the obverse the other the reverse; this may serve for general illustration, but cannot satisfy the student, who must take the unseen side purely on faith.

Then again there is the question of height off the ground. The exhibition of coins in any wall-case makes it necessary to look up or down, in circumstances which may be acutely difficult for the tall or the short. My own conclusion is that a horizontal or nearly horizontal exhibition-case is vastly to be preferred to any other. If lit with care, coins so shown can usually be seen without excessive eye-strain; but such cases take more room than wall-cases or panels and are all too often thrust into a dark corner where nothing whatever is visible.

I am assured, and I can believe it to be true, that in any general museum more questions are asked about coins and medals than about any other class of antiquity. That experience is not confined to this country. It is therefore a matter of surprise that

the problem of coin display has not been better tackled and more generally accepted solutions have not been found, which will help members of the public to do their own identifications.

One line of solution which appeals to me, for display purposes, is exhibition simultaneously of the original coin (not an electrotype or cast unless a deceptively good one) together with a series of greatly enlarged photographs of the actual coin itself. The coin may be in a small circular well-lit table in the centre, the photographs erected on the walls around. I have now seen this technique used twice. It enables the casual visitor both to have a sense of scale, from a sight of the original, and, without strain, to see the detail in comfort. This method can only be applied to a few selected pieces—say a series of Anglo-Saxon types of different monarchs, a group of Renaissance portraits, or a collection of siege pieces from a single mint. For a small specialist collection, such as may be found in some provincial museums, or indeed some private collections, this may be the best course yet evolved.

For a representative display of the range of coins or coin types over a long period this sort of solution will not work. One method, the most straightforward no doubt, is the simple display in parallel line upon parallel line of each successive type, without any indication of relative rarity or importance. This is the kind of display which the British Museum had before the war. I must admit that I find an exhibition of that kind exhausting to follow—I suspect that it serves only a limited purpose, since it will clearly do little to help the specialist student, nor does it contain sufficient perspective to instruct the novice in the essence of what he is seeing.

It is perhaps a personal taste of my own, but I believe it is often better to break up coins into blocks or groups, associated with a map, a portrait, or family tree. With each block should go some sort of key to names and values, grouping associated coins together. I have seen this method employed with some success in French regional museums, where the problems of intelligent display are rather different from those of this island. In these circumstances to show the reverse becomes an insoluble problem, but the impression conveyed to the casual visitor is more lasting and forceful.

As an example of the kind of display I have in mind I do not recall any coin exhibition more impressive than that shown in Newcastle upon Tyne at this year's Congress. In the museum of the local Society of Antiquaries there is a scale model of the Roman Wall from end to end. The ingenious organizer of the exhibition had reconstituted, so far as humanly possible, every Roman coin hoard found on the Wall, and its container, and displayed them intact at the appropriate point on the model. No visitor could fail to bring away a vivid picture of these vestiges of life as it was actually lived along the wall. Another example is the display, electrotype this time, of the Sutton Hoo coins at the British Museum in the marvellously decorated purse in which they were found.

I would like to see more experiments in the techniques of exhibition of coins and medals, for I am sure that with the spread of education, and the growth of appreciation for antiquities, there will be an increasing demand for informative and intelligible display. This can never be a substitute for the handling of individual coins by those who wish to make themselves expert, still less for the publication of fully illustrated catalogues of important collections. But modern display methods would, I hope, help to convey to a wider public the true fascination and store of knowledge which is to be found in the world of numismatics.

It is on this note that I would like to close. Numismatics will never be, in the sense of some other antiquities, a popular study. Its disciplines are too exacting; the concentration on detail is more than many can tolerate for long at a time. Yet, contrastingly, numismatics has something for everyone. It is a human subject. If we want our studies to prosper we must preach that what we are doing is worth while and productive and provides a genuine contribution to knowledge. Not all historians, nor all ordinary intelligent people, are yet so persuaded, although I think we certainly have made converts in recent years. The fault is to some extent in ourselves, that we are apt to be obscurantist and wrap up our researches in an aura of technological mystery. We are also from time to time in danger of arguing that in numismatics lies the sole repository of historical truth, which is manifest nonsense. Nevertheless, I believe that if we present our material conscientiously and intelligently we still have great opportunities for extending the area of informed appreciation. That, I believe, should be one of our principal aims. For many of our members the satisfaction of numismatic studies will always lie in understanding and appreciating the coins and medals themselves, and it is our collective duty to assist them in every way in their worth-while pursuit. Nevertheless it should be our greater aim to serve as the handmaid of history. For these reasons I recommend our members, private and institutional alike, not to underestimate the persuasive power of sound presentation and attractive display.

THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

Balance Sheet as at 31 October 1961

1960				1960			
£	£	s.	d.	£	£	s.	d.
4	Subscriptions received in advance			3	3	0	
20	Subscriptions compounded			17	8	0	
1,183	Sundry Creditors and Outstanding Charges			1,099	0	6	
	J. Sanford Saltus Medal Fund				1,260		
	Capital Account			166	14	11	
	Less Debit Balance on Income Account			19	19	3	
141					146	15	8
162	Publications and Research Fund				161	16	3
1,100	Provision for estimated cost of 1961 Journal				1,100	0	0
	General Purposes Fund			124	14	5	
	Balance as at 31st October, 1961						
125	Deduct Excess of Expenditure over Income for the year			84	19	11	
					39	14	6
<hr style="border-top: 1px solid black;"/>	<hr style="border-top: 1px solid black;"/>			<hr style="border-top: 1px solid black;"/>	<hr style="border-top: 1px solid black;"/>		
£2,735				£2,567	17	11	
<hr style="border-top: 1px solid black;"/>	<hr style="border-top: 1px solid black;"/>			<hr style="border-top: 1px solid black;"/>	<hr style="border-top: 1px solid black;"/>		
				£2,735			
					£2,567	17	11

Report of the Auditors to the Members of the British Numismatic Society

We have obtained all the information and explanations which to the best of our knowledge and belief were necessary for the purposes of our audit. In our opinion proper books of account have been kept by the Society so far as appears from our examination of those books. We have examined the above Balance Sheet and annexed Expenditure and Income Account which are in agreement with the books of account and no credit has been taken for subscriptions in arrear. In our opinion and to the best of our information and according to the explanations given to us, the Balance Sheet gives a true and fair view of the state of the Society's affairs as at 31st October, 1961, and the Expenditure and Income Account gives a true and fair view of the excess of expenditure over income for the year ended on that date.

51, Coleman Street, London, E.C. 2
22 October 1962

GILBERTS, HALLETT & EGLINGTON
Chartered Accountants

Expenditure and Income Account for the Year ended 31 October 1961

EXPENDITURE				INCOME					
1959-60	£	s.	d.	1959-60	£	s.	d.		
11 Printing and Stationery		23	7	6	784	Subscriptions received for 1961	818	4	8
Expenses of Meetings, Rent, and					38	Subscriptions in arrear received			
21 Library Facilities		21	0	0		during year	39	8	0
39 Sundry Expenses		70	4	5					
Journal:					14	Entrance Fees			
1959 Additional		33	18	0		Donations:			
1961 Provision		1,100	0	0		J. L. Dresser	2	12	0
						E. V. Buxton	10	3	0
						Anonymous	50	0	0
					218				
<i>Less</i> 1960 Overprovision in					45	Interest Receivable			
Previous Year		71	6	6			62	15	0
					2	Sale of Back Volumes and Duplicates	50	8	5
							6	6	0
1,088 <i>Less</i> Grant from British Academy		1,062	11	6	58	Excess of Expenditure over Income			
		100	0	0		carried to General Purposes Fund	84	19	11
<u>£1,159</u>					<u>£1,077</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>		
					<u>£1,159</u>				
					<u>£1,077</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>		

LIST OF MEMBERS
OF THE
BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

1 SEPTEMBER 1963

ROYAL MEMBERS

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUKE OF WINDSOR
HIS MAJESTY KING GUSTAV VI OF SWEDEN
HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN OF SWEDEN

MEMBERS

*Honorary Members

1947 ALLCARD, LT.-COL. H., 29 Windsor Road, Selsey, Sussex.
1957 ALLEN, C. H., ESQ., 53 Sandy Lane, Cheam, Surrey.
1935 ALLEN, D. F., ESQ. B.A., Strand End, Grove Park Road, Chiswick, London, W. 4.
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1962 ARCHIBALD, MISS M. M., Department of Archaeology, City Museum, Birmingham.
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 1962 POSNER, S. M., ESQ.,
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 1963 POWLING, M. S., ESQ., F.A.P.H.I., 10 Darran Road, Kingsteignton, Newton Abbot, Devon.
 1944 PRIDMORE, F., ESQ., 48 Priory Bridge Road, Taunton, Somerset.
 1946 PRIESTMAN, A., ESQ., Brougham, Penrith, Cumberland.
 1945 PRITCHARD, J. R., ESQ., Harvey's Store, Magdalen, King's Lynn, Norfolk.
 1945 PRITCHARD, MRS. J. R., Harvey's Store, Magdalen, King's Lynn, Norfolk.
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